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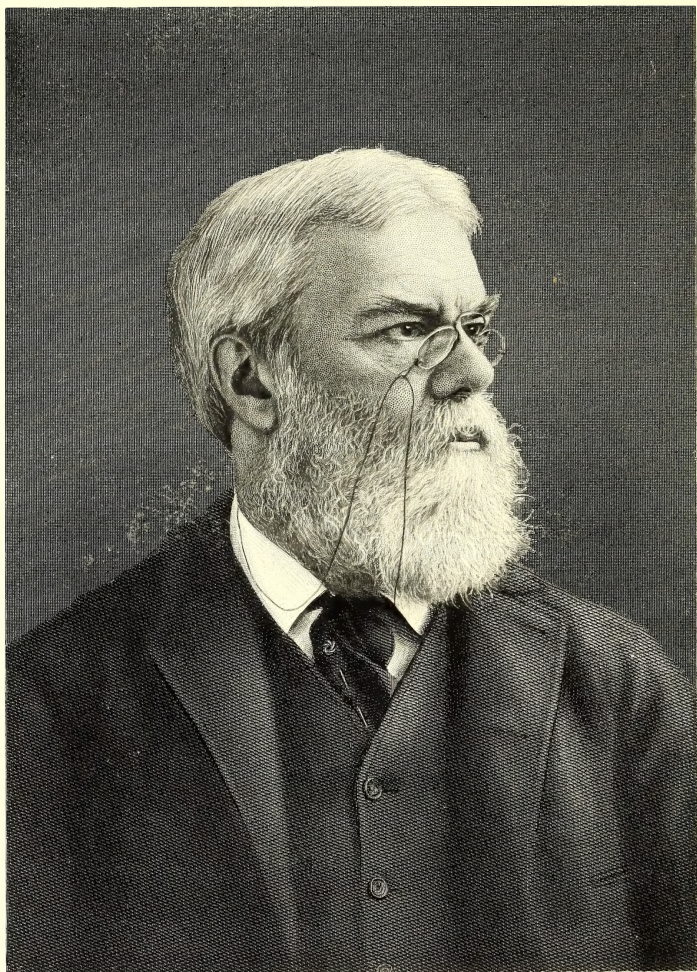
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

ALEXANDER McKENZIE.

CHARLES C. SMITH.



J. J. Wilcox, Sc.

Justin Cronin

PROCEEDINGS

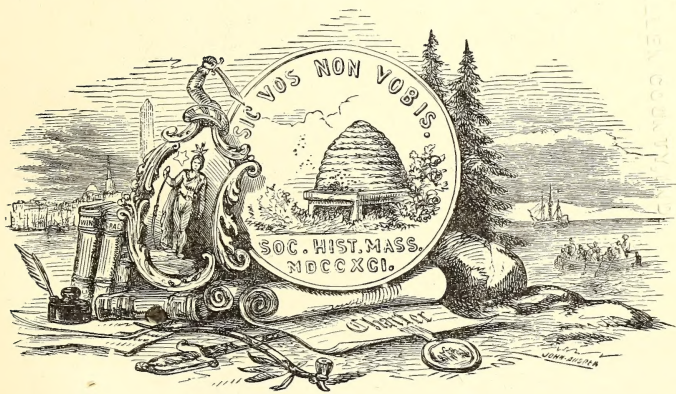
OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

SECOND SERIES. — VOL. XII.

1897-1899.

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund.



BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

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P R E F A C E.

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THIS volume comprises the record of fourteen meetings of the Society from October, 1897, to February, 1899, both inclusive. During the whole of this period the Society was occupying the rooms hired for its temporary use in the Tremont Building; and its meetings were held either in that Building, in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, or in the dwelling-house of one of its own members. Most of its books and manuscripts were deposited in a storage warehouse for safe keeping, and were inaccessible to members and to the Committee for publishing the Proceedings. Hence the communications were less numerous and varied in interest than usual, and the publication of the volume has been somewhat delayed. Among the papers which will attract most notice are Mr. McCLEARY'S historical account of the Franklin Fund; Mr. HASSAM'S account of the Early Suffolk Recorders; the letter of John Quincy Adams on the Graves-Cilley Duel; Mr. SCHOULER'S paper on the Cuban Situation in 1825; Mr. DAVIS'S search for a supposed pamphlet by Governor Hutchinson; Dr.

GREEN's lists of Early American Imprints, and the diary of Amos Farnsworth and the extracts from the Note Book of Rev. John Fiske, communicated by him. There are also memoirs of John Amory Lowell, by CHARLES C. SMITH; of Amos A. Lawrence, by WILLIAM LAWRENCE; of Benjamin M. Watson, by EDWARD E. HALE; of Justin Winsor, by HORACE E. SCUDDER; and of George S. Hale, by ARTHUR B. ELLIS, each with a portrait.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, July 18, 1899.

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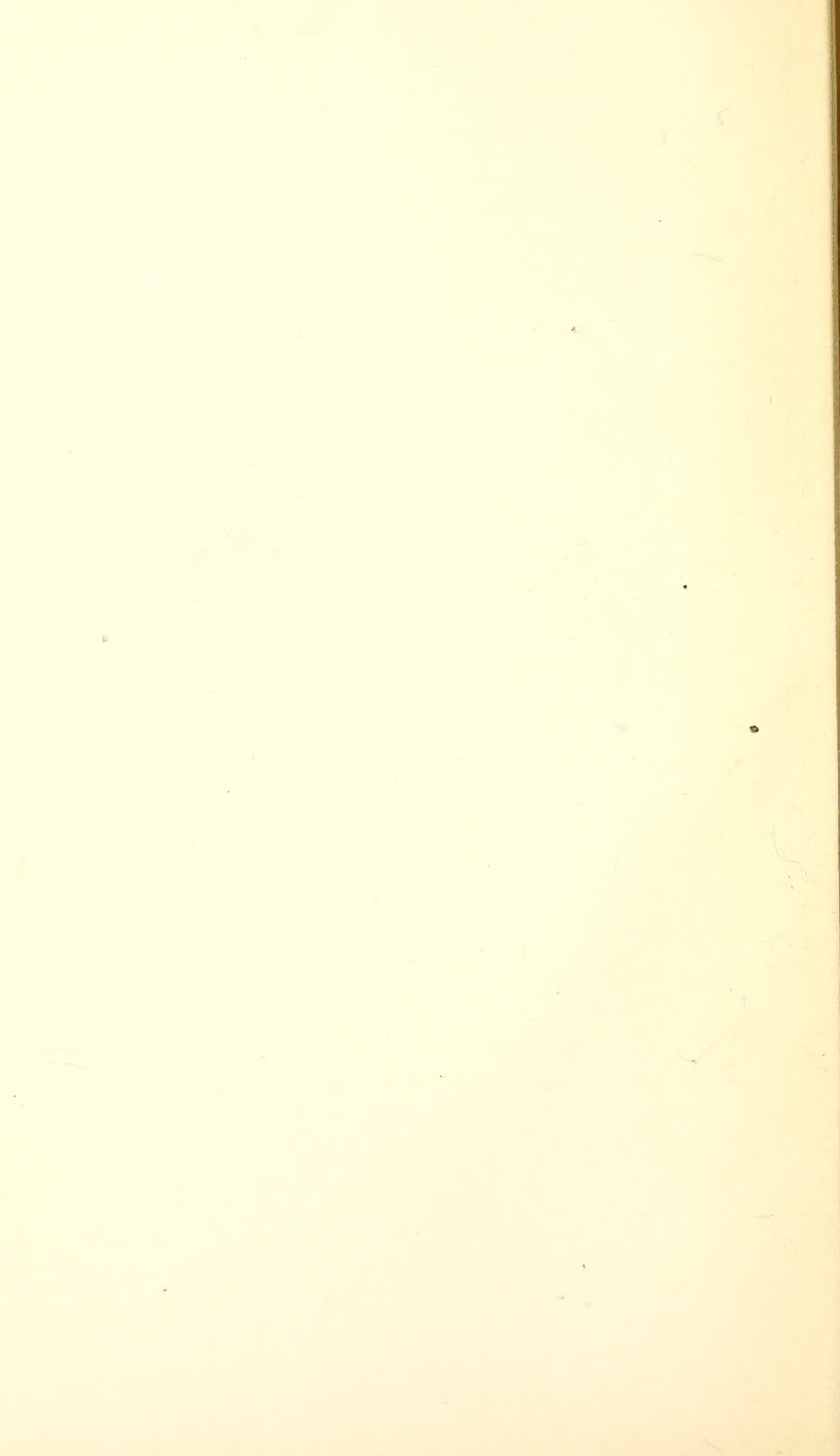
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OFFICERS
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MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 14, 1898.

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GEORGE B. CHASE, A.M. DEDHAM.

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THEIR ELECTION.

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1877.
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1898.

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1899.

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since the last volume of Proceedings was issued, September 17, 1897, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Samuel Eliot, LL.D.	Sept. 14, 1898.
Justin Winsor, LL.D.	Oct. 22, 1897.
Henry Lee, A.M.	Nov. 24, 1898.
William W. Greenough, A.B.	June 17, 1899.
Clement Hugh Hill, A.M.	Dec. 12, 1898.
Hon. Walbridge A. Field, LL.D.	July 15, 1899.

Corresponding.

Rev. William Scott Southgate, D.D.	May 21, 1899.
Hon. William Henry Trescot	May 4, 1898.
M. Jules Marcou	April 17, 1898.
Hon. Manning Ferguson Force, LL.D.	May 8, 1899.
Julius Dexter, LL.B.	Oct. 21, 1898.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

The records of the June meeting and of the special meeting in July were read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the summer vacation.

Mr. THORNTON K. LOTHROP, from the sub-committee on the erection of a new building, reported that a contract had been made in conformity with the plans submitted at the special meeting, and that the work had been steadily prosecuted during the summer. It was expected that the walls would be all up, and the building roofed over, by the first of January.

The Treasurer said that since the last meeting he had received from the executors of the will of our late associate, the Hon. John Lowell, the sum of three thousand dollars, being the amount of a legacy left to the Society by Judge Lowell; and with the concurrence of the Council he moved the following vote, which was unanimously adopted:—

Voted, That the legacy of three thousand dollars by our late associate, the Hon. John Lowell, be gratefully accepted, and that the Treasurer be directed to set the same apart as a permanent fund to be called the Lowell Fund, the income thereof to be applied to such purposes as the Council may from time to time authorize.

Mr. SMITH further said that he desired to call attention to the recently published Memoir of our late President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, by his son, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. This is not one of the regular publications of the Society, though it was prepared in accordance with an appointment made at the meeting in December, 1894; but on account of its length, and the large space which was given to Mr. Winthrop's political life, it was thought desirable to follow the precedent set by President Quincy when he prepared for the Society his Memoir of John Quincy Adams, and to issue it as a separate volume. Mr. Winthrop, however, had taken pains to send a copy to every member of the Society, and to the various organized bodies to which our publications are usually sent; and if any member had failed, through absence from home or other cause, to receive a copy, the omission would be supplied by the author.

Mr. Smith communicated, in behalf of Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, who was necessarily absent from the State, the following report:—

The Cabot Celebration at Halifax.

At the request of the President, I had the honor to represent the Society as its delegate at the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, last June. This meeting was made especially memorable by the observance of two important anniversaries; namely, the fourth centenary of Cabot's landfall, and the Diamond Jubilee of her Majesty Queen Victoria.

The Royal Society ordinarily holds its meetings at Ottawa; but this year Halifax was selected on account of its advantageous position upon the seaboard much nearer the scene to be commemorated. The Society had also planned to erect a memorial of Cabot's great achievement; and as no one spot could be agreed upon as the "land first seen," the committee wisely decided to place a bronze tablet in the Province House at Halifax.

All the arrangements for the meeting were carried out on a generous scale. The Society invited as its guests delegates from the city of Bristol, the city of Venice, the Royal Geographical Society of London, and from several Universities and Historical Societies in Canada and the United States. The government of Nova Scotia and a committee of the

citizens of Halifax joined the committee of the Royal Society in extending the courtesies of the occasion. The meetings continued from the 21st to the 25th of June, and were generally held in the Legislative Council Chamber of the Provincial Building, — a fine stone structure of modest proportions, enclosed in shaded grounds, reminding one of the older public buildings of the mother country, and quite as dingy and venerable in appearance. The 22d was given up to the Queen's Jubilee, and the 24th to the dedication of the Cabot tablet.

Among the papers read before the Historical section were three which attracted special attention, as they related to the great discovery. The first was by the Hon. John Boyd Thacher, mayor of Albany and author of the recent sumptuous volume entitled "The Continent of America: Its Discovery and Baptism." Mr. Thacher carefully laid out the course of the "Matthew," following the scanty information furnished by Pasqualigo and Soncino. He imagined a fixed course and a fixed measurement of distance, and was led thereby to favor Labrador, "somewhere near Hudson's straits," as the landfall. "We have picked our way through ice and doubt," he said in concluding, "but one thing is clear: it was an English ship that crossed the ocean; English feet first trod these northern shores; English hands planted the familiar ensign and took possession in the name of Henry VII. It matters not whether it was John or Sebastian, whether it was Labrador or Newfoundland or Cape Breton. The title to all this goodly territory runs from ocean to ocean. The vision was Cathay; the reality was America." Mr. Thacher exhibited an autograph letter of Henry VII. and other original documents.

The next paper on the subject was by Samuel E. Dawson, Lit. D., of Ottawa, whose previous contributions to the Transactions of the Society have been highly valued for the painstaking research as well as for the calm judicial tone which they always exhibit. Dr. Dawson alluded to his monograph of 1894, and said that although it had occasioned considerable comment, he had seen no new arguments against it, — nothing whatever to invalidate his conclusions.

There were now, he said, only two advocates for the Newfoundland theory (I suppose he meant Judge Prowse and Bishop Howley), and Labrador is put out of court by all Canadians. Most of the earlier writers have steadily confused

the two voyages. The first one was not a survey, but only a reconnoissance. He considers the Cosa map of 1500 in part a transcript of the 1497 voyage made by John Cabot himself. *Cavo de Ynglaterra* is Cape Race. This he considers the cardinal point on which the whole debate turns. Cape Breton is the *Cavo descubierto* of Cosa's map, and the *Prima Vista* of the Mappemonde of 1544.

Dr. Dawson acknowledges his great indebtedness to Harris, but cannot follow him in some of his recent conclusions, as, for example, when he sends Cabot—who does not mention ice—up to 63 degrees two weeks before June 24. He evidently does not know Labrador when he writes of *baccalaos*; for codfish do not arrive at Cape Chidley till August. Harris disclaims for Spain any jealousy, but the Bull of Partition points to another conclusion.

As to Sebastian Cabot, Dr. Dawson reminds us that the standard of truth in the Renaissance period was not high. Winsor's Columbus shows us that. Sebastian should not be dismissed as a liar. We must remember that we have nothing from his own pen. If he was such a fraud as is now claimed by some writers, so were Ferdinand, Charles V., and Henry VIII. The Court of Spain had many able sailors who would surely have detected gross falsehood in a foreigner like Sebastian. We must concede him the first place in nautical matters. He would be justified by his Spanish position in suppressing certain facts. His first duty was to his own master. He was a scientific theorist, but not an impostor.

A poem upon Cabot was read by Mr. W. Wilfred Campbell.

The last paper was by the President of the Society, Archbishop O'Brien. It was an elaborate study, illustrated by diagrams, and presenting some novel features. Pasqualigo, he said, gives us the distance sailed,—seven hundred leagues. Sencino gives the direction taken. These two data, however, do not suffice, for they will apply to Labrador, Newfoundland, or Cape Breton. But, happily, Sencino supplies another point which has been overlooked. He says that Cabot “passed considerably the country of Tanais,” that is, evidently its latitude, according to the early custom of locating unknown shores by comparing them with well-known places in the old world. The “country of Tanais” is the area included within the great bend of the river Don, between the 50th and the 48th

degrees. Bristol is about 51 degrees. So Cabot must have sailed south of the latitude of Tanais. This gives us a third known quantity, which enables us to solve the problem. We must, therefore, exclude Labrador, Cape St. John, and Bonavista. The only place fulfilling all the conditions is Cape Breton Island, either on the Atlantic Coast, or, more likely, within the Gulf, southward of Cape North, near Mt. Squirrel. In this case Cabot did not see Cape Race, but passed south and west of it, and came toward Prince Edward Island, and could easily have coasted the gulf in nine days. The Micmaes — traces of whom he found — fished in the Gulf and never went out upon the ocean. The “seven cities” were at Château Harbor, which has the appearance of being fortified.

The President then took up the second voyage, and handled the Cosa map in a very bold and ingenious manner. It has been generally taken for granted that Cabot's charts have been lost; but let us examine the Cosa map. It is admitted by all that the northern portion is founded upon information derived from Cabot himself. The work is evidently made up of two pieces. We can find the scale on which the portion covered by the Spanish flag is drawn. This scale does not fit the coast line covered by the English flag. We infer, therefore, that Cosa copied that part from another man's work. Happily for us, he did not attempt to reduce it to his own scale. Can we then discover the scale of Cabot's shore line? We must distinguish between the chart and the map. Only the chart is Cabot's. The most southern of the English flags would be near Cape Henry. *Cavo descubierta* is the cape first made — the landfall, that is, Cape Breton Island, in latitude $46^{\circ}30'$. The distance between these two points — $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches — is ten degrees. This gives us the scale of Cabot's chart; namely, $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch to a degree. This clue restores Cabot's chart to its proper position. But we see a distortion in Cosa's map. Cabot surveyed the coast from north to south. Hence *Cavo d'Ynglaterra* cannot be Cape Race. Cosa, in joining Cabot's chart to his own, made it run east and west. This explains the fruitless attempts of modern scholars to understand it. It explains also why Cosa's map was never reproduced, but was quickly laid aside. Yet it has preserved to us Cabot's chart unmarred.

The Archbishop saw that this position was radical and called

for further proof. Accordingly he went into an exhaustive argument to justify his statements. Applying his scale, he found *Cavo d'Ynglaterra* to be Cape Chidley; *Cavo de Jorge*, Cape Race — fittingly named after England's patron saint; *Y. Verde* is the Green or Grass Island of to-day; *Isla de la Trenidat* is Ogná Lik — Cod Island — in $57^{\circ}40'$, with three remarkable hills. The small island near the second flag is in $43^{\circ}50'$, and must be Sable Island. Other places are identified after the same fashion; and the author seems to have convinced himself, if not others, that this is a chart of the whole coast-line from Cape Henry to the north of Hudson's Bay. He finds another proof in the names on the chart, which bear marks of Cosa's classical condensation from Cabot's rough English phrases, according to the rules of the time.

The writer thinks he has reason for believing that John Cabot did not die during the second voyage, but returned unsuccessful, and dropped out of sight, as indeed Sebastian did for several years. Men forgot the achievements of the father, hearing so much afterward of the son who gained a European reputation. In the eyes of the commercial world the father had failed. Some day, in the crypt, or amid the other dark nooks of St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol, a slab will yet be found which will tell us when and how John Cabot died.

The crowning feature of the occasion was the unveiling of the tablet at the Province House on the afternoon of the 24th. The inscription, which was carefully prepared by Messrs. Bourinot and Dawson, does not commit the Society to any one of the theories as to the landfall.

Through the kindness of E. Gilpin, Esq., F. R. S. C., one of the Halifax committee, I have obtained an excellent facsimile of the tablet which I take pleasure in presenting to the Society. It shows the artistic decorative border representing the royal arms in the centre, with those of Bristol and Venice on either side, and the good ship sailing away from the old-world port toward the sun, which is setting behind the distant shore.

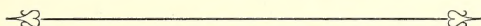
The ceremony of unveiling was worthily performed by his Excellency the Governor-General, who was accompanied by Lady Aberdeen and a large number of distinguished guests representing the Army and Navy, the Dominion, the Province, the City, and foreign lands. Among the speakers were the

Bristol delegates, Messrs. Barker and Davies, — both of them recent mayors of that city, — United States Consul-General In-

THIS TABLET IS IN HONOUR OF THE FAMOUS NAVIGATOR

JOHN CABOT

Who under authority of letters-patent of HENRY VII directing him "*to conquer occupy and possess*" for ENGLAND all lands he might find "*in whatever part of the world they be,*" sailed in a BRISTOL Ship THE MATTHEW, and first planted the flags of ENGLAND and VENICE on the 24th of June 1497 on the north eastern seaboard of NORTH AMERICA, and by his discoveries in this and the following year gave to ENGLAND a claim upon the Continent which the colonizing spirit of her sons made good in later times.



This tablet was placed in this hall by the ROYAL SOCIETY of CANADA in JUNE 1897 when the BRITISH EMPIRE was celebrating the SIXTIETH Anniversary of the Accession of Her Majesty QUEEN VICTORIA during whose beneficent reign the Dominion of CANADA has extended from the shores first seen by CABOT and English sailors four hundred years before to the far Pacific coast.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF ABERDEEN
Governor-General of Canada.

C. O'BRIEN, D.D. PRES. R. S. C.

HIS HONOUR M. B. DALY

[ARCHBISHOP OF HALIFAX]

Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.

J. G. BOURINOT, C. M. G. HON. SEC. R. S. C.

CITY OF BRISTOL DELEGATES

WILLIAM ROBERTS BARKER, J. P.

WILLIAM HOWELL DAVIES, J. P.

graham, Mayor Thacher of Albany, and Consul-General Solimbergo, who represented, he said, the City of Venice, the Italian Geographical Society, and the Ministry of Public Instruction. He gave a glowing address quite characteristic of his race.

Speaking of the adventurous seamen who had gone forth from the Italian maritime republics to conduct distant voyages of discovery, he said, "The Cabotos were like feathers from the winged Lion of St. Mark," flying to these western shores, then desolate, but now swarming with restless activity. At the conclusion of his speech three rousing cheers were given for the King of Italy.

Then occurred one of the most touching incidents of the day. A Micmac Indian woman came slowly through the crowd, and handed to the Countess a dainty basket woven of colored splints, — a fine specimen of native handicraft. She wore the brilliant dress of her tribe, with the stiff peaked hood, — a survival, I presume, of the skin costume of her ancestors, which is still retained in northern Labrador. The gift was graciously received amid the applause of the company; and several other Indians came up with their chief, John Noel of Shubenacadie, and were presented by the Archbishop.

The Bluejackets of H. M. S. "Crescent" acted as a guard of honor during the exercises.

I ought not to close this report without alluding to the social courtesies which were extended to us during the whole week, such as the luncheon given by the President of the Society; the steamer excursion around the beautiful harbor, given by the government of Nova Scotia; the brilliant reception by the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Daly; and the five-o'clock teas at the villa of Sir Sandford Fleming and elsewhere. The concluding reception was held at the Province House by the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

The Royal Society and its guests were also invited to a large meeting in the Opera House in honor of the late Joseph Howe, the eminent statesman, for whom a statue is soon to be provided. The oration was delivered by the Rev. Principal Grant, of Kingston.

I should add that the Faculty of Dalhousie University and other citizens of Halifax showed us many personal favors during our visit.

The Maine Historical Society — the nearest of all our State societies to the landfall of 1497 — has given another proof of its enterprising spirit by having a Cabot celebration at its June meeting in Brunswick. Papers were read as follows: A Brief Résumé of Cabot's Voyages, by Hon. J. P. Baxter, of Port-

land; The Old World at the Dawn of Western Discovery, Professor J. W. Black, of Waterville; The Cartography of the Period, Rev. H. S. Burrage, of Portland; The Landfall of Cabot, Professor William Macdonald, of Brunswick; The Value and Significance of Cabot's Discovery, Professor John S. Sewall, of Bangor.

Messrs. Charles C. Smith, Samuel A. Green, George B. Chase, and Edward G. Porter were appointed a Committee to publish a volume of Pepperrell Papers, from the original manuscripts relating to the siege and capture of Louisbourg, in the possession of the Society.

The Vice-President then announced the deaths, during the summer vacation, of three Resident Members, — Messrs. George S. Hale, Edward L. Pierce, and Theodore Lyman, — and of two Non-Resident Members, — Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull and the Marquis de Rochambeau.

Mr. T. W. HIGGINSON, having been called on, said: —

I have remembered for half a century, with the utmost vividness, two young men of the lower college classes for whose entrance into the chapel I used to watch with interest at prayer-time during my senior year. One of them strode in with a peculiarly manly and indeed somewhat defiant bearing, as if ready to conquer the world, and perhaps not over-fastidious as to his means of conquering. This was Charles Anderson Dana, afterwards Assistant Secretary of War, and editor of the "New York Sun." The other glided in with a look of equally resolute purpose, but gentle, refined, disarming; he had much beauty of feature and expression, and was known a few years afterward, as I have since learned, by those over whom he ruled as proctor in the college halls, as "The Fair One with Golden Locks." In later life, after that early bloom and picturesqueness had passed away, he was known to all reformers and philanthropists in Boston as George Silsbee Hale, of the Suffolk Bar. He was one of those who gravitate so naturally to the side of minorities and courageous enterprises, that they seem to fulfil the maxim given by Sir Philip Sidney to a young man, "Whenever you hear of a good war, go to it."

I cannot refrain from mentioning the only instance where

he showed this independence in a manner which I at the time disapproved; an occasion when, however, he thoroughly vindicated his own standard of action by his final course. At the time when Radcliffe College was reorganized under that name, he acted as counsel before a legislative committee for some warm friends of women's education, who nevertheless doubted the wisdom of the proposed policy. He was opposed by friends of the enterprise, among whom our associate Professor Goodwin took a prominent part; and Mr. Hale's view of the subject fortunately did not prevail. Receiving, however, from his clients a fee amounting, I think, to one hundred dollars, he promptly presented it to Radcliffe College, thus becoming one of the first benefactors of the institution whose creation he had opposed. This always seemed to me a bit of generous magnanimity quite characteristic of the man.

In response to the Vice-President's call, Mr. JAMES FORD RHODES said: —

I shall first speak of Mr. Pierce as an author. His *Life of Sumner* it seems to me is an excellent biography, and the third and fourth volumes of it are an important contribution to the history of our country. Any one who has gone through the original material of the period he embraces must be struck not only with the picture of Sumner that is portrayed, but with the skill of the biographer in the use of his data to present a general historical view. The injunction of Cicero, "Choose with discretion out of the plenty that lies before you," Mr. Pierce observed. If one knows of the mass of letters he read, of the newspaper files he consulted, of the books he perused, of the conversation of the actors in the stirring scenes of his time he recollected, and of the memories that crowd upon the mind of the man who has lived through such an era, one will not think the biography too long, but will rather admire the author for having kept it within reasonable bounds. In a talk that I had with Mr. Pierce I referred to a notice of an English literary weekly of his third and fourth volumes which maintained that the biography was twice too long, and I took occasion to say that in comparison with other American works of the kind the criticism seemed

unjust. "Moreover," I went on, "I think you showed restraint in not making use of much of your valuable material, — of the interesting and even important unprinted letters of Cobden, the Duke of Argyll, and of John Bright." "Yes," replied Mr. Pierce, with a twinkle in his eye, "I can say with Lord Clive, 'Great Heavens, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation.'"

Any one who has studied public sentiment in this country for any period knows how easy it is to generalize from a few facts, and yet, if one has gone into the subject deeply, he knows how unsatisfactory such generalizations are apt to be; not that they are essentially untrue, but rather because they express only a part of the truth. If a student should ask me in what one book he could best find a statement of the popular opinion at the North during the Civil War, I should say, Read Sumner's letters as cited in Mr. Pierce's biography with the author's comments. The speeches of Sumner may smell too much of the lamp to be admirable, but the off-hand letters written to his English and a few American friends during our great struggle are worthy of the highest esteem. From his conversations with the President, the Cabinet ministers, his fellow Senators and Congressmen, his newspaper reading, — in short, from the many impressions that go to make up the daily life of an influential public man, — there has resulted an accurate statement of the popular feeling from day to day. In spite of his intense desire to have Englishmen of power and position espouse the right side, he would not misrepresent anything by the suppression of facts, any more than he would make a misleading statement. In the selection of these letters Mr. Pierce has shown the nice touch.

Sumner, whom I take to have been one of the most truthful of men, was fortunate in having one of the most honest of biographers. Mr. Pierce would not, I think, have wittingly suppressed anything that told against him. I love to think of one citation which a biographer intending to imply that his hero was pretty nearly infallible would not have made, so quickly, indeed, did the fact show the foolishness of the opinion. Sumner wrote, May 3, 1863: "There is no doubt here about Hooker. He told Judge Bates . . . that he 'did not mean to drive the enemy but to bag him.' It is thought he is now doing it." The biographer's comment is brief:

"The letter was written on the day of Hooker's defeat at Chancellorsville."

It seems to me that Mr. Pierce was as impartial in his writing as is possible for a man who had taken an active part in political affairs, who was thoroughly in earnest, and who had a positive manner of expression. It is not so difficult as some imagine for a student of history whose work is done in the library to be impartial, provided he has inherited or acquired the desire to be fair and honest, and provided he has the diligence and patience to go through the mass of evidence. His historical material will show him that to every question there are two sides. But what of the man who has been in the heat of the conflict, and who, when the fight was on, believed with Sumner that there was no other side? If such a man displays candor, how much greater his merit than the impartiality of the scholar who shuns political activity and has given himself up to a life of speculation!

I had the good fortune to have three long conversations with the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the last of which occurred shortly after the publication of the third and fourth volumes of the *Life of Sumner*. "What," said Mr. Winthrop to me, "do you think of the chapter on the Annexation of Texas and the Mexican War?" "I think," was my reply, "that Mr. Pierce has treated a delicate subject like a gentleman." "From what I have heard of it," responded Mr. Winthrop, earnestly, "and from so much as I have read of it, that is also my own opinion." Such a private conversation I could of course repeat, and, somewhat later the occasion presenting itself, I imparted it to Mr. Pierce. "That is more grateful to me," he said, almost with tears in his eyes, "than all the praise I have received for these volumes."

Mr. Pierce had, I think, the historic sense. I consulted him several times on the treatment of historical matters, taking care not to trench on questions where, so different was our point of view, we could not possibly agree, and I always received from him advice that was suggestive, even if I did not always follow it to the letter. I sent to him, while he was in London, my account of Secretary Cameron's report proposing to arm the slaves and of his removal from office by President Lincoln. Mr. Pierce thought my inferences were far-fetched, and wrote: "I prefer the natural explana-

tion. Horace says we must not introduce a god into a play unless it is necessary."

As a friend, he was warm-hearted and true. He brought cheer and animation into your house. His talk was fresh; his zeal for whatever was uppermost in his mind was contagious, and he inspired you with enthusiasm. He was not a converser, in the French sense of the term, for he indulged in monologue; but he was never dull. His artlessness was charming. He gave you confidences that you would have shrunk from hearing out of the mouth of any other man, in the fear that you intruded on a privacy where you had no right; but this openness of mind was so natural in Mr. Pierce that you listened with concern and sympathized with warmth. He took interest in everything; he had infinite resources, and until his health began to fail enjoyed life thoroughly. He loved society, conversation, travel; and while he had no passion for books, he listened to you attentively while you gave an abstract or criticism of some book that was attracting attention. In all intercourse with him you felt that you were in a healthy moral atmosphere. I never knew a man who went out of his way oftener to do good works in which there was absolutely no reward, and at a great sacrifice of his time, — a more precious commodity to him than is money to the rich. He was in the true sense of the word a philanthropist, and yet no one would have approved more heartily than he this remark of Emerson: "The professed philanthropists are an altogether odious set of people, whom one would shun as the worst of bores and canters."

His interest in this Society the published Proceedings will in some measure show, but they cannot reflect the tone of devotion in which he spoke of it in conversation, or exhibit his loyalty to it as set forth in the personal letter. It was a real privation that he was prevented from attending these meetings last winter on account of his legislative duties.

Of Mr. Pierce as a citizen most of you, gentlemen, can speak better than I, but it does appear to me an example of high civic virtue that a gentleman of his age, political experience, ability, and mental resources could take pride and pleasure in his service in the House of Representatives of his Commonwealth. He was sixty-eight years old, suffering from disease, and yet in his service last winter he did not miss one legisla-

tive session nor a day meeting of his committee. His love for his town was a mark of local attachment both praiseworthy and useful. "I should rather be moderator of the Milton town-meeting," he said, "than to hold any other office in the United States."

The Vice-President then called on Mr. THORNTON K. LOTHROP, who spoke as follows:—

I very much regret the absence of others who, it was hoped, would speak to us of our late associate, Colonel Theodore Lyman; but it seems to me that the end of a life so heroic, the loss of an associate of whom we all had justly reason to be proud, should not pass without some notice, however imperfect, at this our first meeting since his death.

The descendant of good old New England stock, Colonel Lyman inherited that high public spirit, that strong sense of civic duties, which has always distinguished the best sons of Massachusetts and New England. Possessed of an ample competence, he was enabled to devote his leisure, so long as his health permitted, to the service of those public interests which most appealed to him.

A graduate of Harvard, he took an active part in all that tended to promote her prosperity, increase her usefulness, enlarge the circle of her studies, or raise higher the standard of attainment. He was a disciple of Agassiz, and distinguished himself as a naturalist. He was much interested in the construction of Memorial Hall, worked zealously to raise the funds for its erection, and was himself a large contributor.

He served on many charitable, educational, and philanthropic boards, and for one term as a representative in Congress. Nominated as an independent candidate, he was, in a year when party ties were held loosely in Massachusetts, elected by a large majority; but at the next election, when the lines were drawn more closely, the supposed exigencies of party politics were sufficient to cause his defeat.

As a friend and companion he was a delightful personality. Of a buoyant temperament, fond of fun, gay and animated in his talk, sympathetic and affectionate, loving and beloved, he seemed a favorite of fortune and nature. But at the meridian of his life, with everything to make that

life attractive and desirable, with his work barely half accomplished, his high purposes for future usefulness all unfulfilled, he was attacked with a disease in presence of which the skill of the physician was powerless. All further achievement became difficult, and, before very long, impossible. For nearly a score of years he faced the painful, slow, and gradual approach of death. But during this long martyrdom his faculties remained clear, he bore his sufferings with a serene fortitude which was rarely if ever shaken, and his unquenched spirit rose superior to bodily pain and physical discomfort and infirmities. He maintained for years his interest in public affairs, and was ready to contribute to whatever seemed to him for the public good; while for his friends so long as he was well enough to see them, he had always a cheerful voice, a ready smile, and a cordial word of welcome.

The lesson of a character so noble, of such years of a distressing and hopeless illness, borne so bravely to the close, cannot leave us untouched, and is not one to be forgotten.

MR. GEORGE B. CHASE added some personal recollections of Mr. Lyman, in substance as follows:—

My own recollections of Theodore Lyman go back to the days of boyhood. Two years older than myself, I recall him as a leader among other boys in all their sports and pastimes, until, at the age of fourteen he went with his father to Europe, where he suffered from weakness of the eyes and from a long illness in Paris. He returned, in the summer of 1849, to pass two years in light study, and in June, 1851, having lost a year from weak eyesight, he became at the age of seventeen a member of the Freshman Class of Harvard College.

No one, I think, who was at Cambridge between the years '51 and '55 could have failed to remark Theodore Lyman. Tall and handsome, with a curious air of mingled distinction and *insouciance*, he was yet as serious in study as he was fond of sports. He was, too, unusually liked among all who knew him. To a humorous and kindly nature he added a mind as quick in its apprehensions as his wit was keen — though never acrid; while his society was deemed indispensable at all the

social gatherings of his class, or at the meetings of the college clubs to which he belonged.

Sure I am that in those happy years at Harvard there was no one who knew Theodore Lyman whose heart was not gladdened at the sight of him, or by the sound of the pleasant tones of his voice as he approached. He took his Bachelor's degree in the summer of 1855, and at once began, with earnest purpose, the study of certain branches of science, under the guiding hand of the elder Agassiz. The hour does not permit me to dwell upon this part of his life, in which he won for himself distinct recognition of his attainments in the scientific world, and I come to the period when the dark shadow of his fate fell upon him, about the time of his election to the Forty-eighth Congress. It was not, however, till he returned to private life three years later that his friends began to realize that he, whose disposition was so blithe, whose life had seemed so happy, whose society had been so courted, and whose very presence had been enough to dispel dulness and gloom, as it brought with it brightness and mirth,—that he, of all men, was in the grip of perhaps the most awful of all the ills that flesh is heir to, because so slow, so stealthy, and so utterly hopeless.

With what sustained courage and unfailing patience, with what outward calm and cheerful bearing, Mr. Lyman faced the enemy, as month by month and year by year paralysis fastened itself more and more upon him, until at the end of seventeen years death, long hoped for, came in mercy to release him, is known, I think, to some of you.

Though Lyman and I were members of two dinner clubs, one of which ended just before his illness began, and the other was afterward formed as one of the many ways that affection sought to ease his afflicted life, I was rarely able in later years to meet him; but when I was fortunate enough to see him, the same dear smile irradiated the features of his still handsome face, kind words and playful jests came as ever from his lips, and the mind, vigorous and alert as in youth, shone forth above all the terrible infirmities of disease. It was so the last time I saw him, but a little more than a year since.

Somewhere among the cemeteries of New England I have been told there was a stone erected over the grave of a woman, and below her name upon it is the brief, yet felicitous inscrip-

tion, "She was so pleasant." Of no one whom I have known in the long years that I recall do these words seem more fit than of Theodore Lyman. *He was so pleasant!*

The Vice-President, who had but recently returned from a short visit to England, made some interesting statements with regard to the return of the manuscript of Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, the memorial tablet to James Russell Lowell in Westminster Abbey, and some early American maps which he had examined while abroad, and read a letter from Professor Edward Arber relative to the unsuccessful search in the French archives for the missing account of the Plymouth settlement sent home by the "Fortune."¹

Mr. SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY read the following sketch, prepared from authentic sources, of the origin, purpose, and results of the Franklin Fund in the City of Boston.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston on the 17th day of January, 1706, according to the New Style. After a career of pre-eminent usefulness to his country and to science, he died at Philadelphia on the 17th of April, 1790, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was therefore in his seventy-first year when he signed the Declaration of Independence.

His will was made on July 17, 1788. At that date the Revolution, in which he had been a prominent agent, had successfully terminated, and the United States of America had become a recognized nation.

Throughout his whole career, whether at home or in the courts of Europe, Franklin never forgot his humble origin, or the efforts which he made under great difficulties to obtain an education in the schools of Boston. He therefore provided in his will for the annual distribution of silver medals to the most meritorious boys in the public schools of Boston; and for this purpose he bequeathed one hundred pounds sterling, or five hundred dollars, to the town, the interest of which should be devoted to this object. The original sum has been increased to one thousand dollars, and annually the most deserving boys in the Latin and English High schools of this city now participate in this benefaction.

Having thus provided in his will for the encouragement of

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. xi. pp. 367, 368.

learning in his native town, he was forcibly reminded of his own early struggles for the means to support himself and for the extension of his business, when the scantiness of his purse compelled him; as he states in his Autobiography, "to carry the papers to his customers, after having worked at composing the types and printing off the sheets." To him, at that time, a loan of fifty pounds would have been regarded as a fortune.

Accordingly, on the 23d of June, 1789, in less than twelve months from the date of his will, he prepared a lengthy codicil which was devoted almost entirely to the encouragement of young married mechanics in the town of Boston and city of Philadelphia. This was the origin of the "Franklin Fund," as it is now generally termed, the object and purpose of which are fully detailed in said codicil, from which the following are extracts:—

"I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there. I have, therefore, already considered those schools in my will. But I am also under obligations to the State of Massachusetts for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent in England with a handsome salary, which continued some years. . . .

"Having considered that among artisans, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens, and, having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia, by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both those towns. To this end I devote two thousand pounds sterling, of which I give one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared.

"The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the same upon interest, at five per cent per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures.

"And, as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in

setting up their business, they are to be proportioned, by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds. . . . And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay, with the yearly interest, one-tenth part of the principal, which sums of principal and interest, so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers.

“If this plan is executed, and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds, of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants; such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds, I would have continued to be let out on interest, in the manner above directed for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling; of which I leave one million sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the Government of the State, not presuming to carry my views farther.

“All the directions herein given, respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, only, as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management agreeably to the said directions; and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose.”

Soon after Franklin's death, information of his bequests was communicated to the Selectmen of Boston, who called a town-meeting, at which the bequests were accepted, and the following acknowledgment was sent to the executors of his will: ¹

Boston June 1. 1790.

We, the inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in town meeting assembled, now transmit to you our vote of acceptance of the Two

¹ Town Records, vol. viii. p. 173.

bequests of your testator, the most venerable Doctor Benjamin Franklin. The many useful designs, projected by that great man, during a Long and Valuable Life, perhaps even more than his exalted Talents as a Patriot, Statesman & Philosopher, must endear his Memory To Americans: while they, in a more particular manner, reflect Honor upon the Town of Boston, which gave him Birth and Education. Every step to carry into full effect his benevolent plan will be cheerfully pursue^d by those who he was pleased to constitute his Trustees; and rising generations will for ages Bless the name of their illustrious Friend & Benefactor.

We thank you, sir, & the other gentlemen, for your early communication of the contents of the will as far as it relates to us.

We are, with the most perfect respect, gentlemen

Your most obedient servants

In the name & by order of the Town

WILLIAM COOPER *Town Clerk.*

HENRY HILL & the other gentlemen,

Excr^t to the last will of the late

Doct^r Franklin.

Having received the bequest of the Mechanics' Fund, thereafter called the "Franklin Fund," the Selectmen became anxious lest the Trust would be affected, or lapse, by reason of the fact that there was no Presbyterian Church at that time in the town.

But, after a full consideration of the subject, they concluded to constitute the Board of Managers as follows: ¹—

April 5. 1791.

The Selectmen taking under consideration the Will of Dr. Benjⁿ Franklin, as it respects his donation to the Town of £1000 sterling, —

Voted: That as Trustees of said Donation they are to be united with the Ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of this Town, and whereas there is in this Town *no* Presbyterian Church, it is further *Voted* That the said Selectmen united with the Minister of the Old Brick Church as the first Congregational one, and the Minister of the Chapel Church as the first Episcopalian Church, are the Trustees of the said Donation.

Upon the subsequent establishment of a Presbyterian Church in the town, its minister was added to the Board. The first Board of Trustees advertised for applications for loans from this Fund to such young mechanics as were duly qualified therefor. It is interesting to note in the first Book of Appli-

¹ Selectmen's Minutes for 1791, p. 258.*

cations the names of many young artificers who, obtaining their first start in business through this pecuniary aid, became enrolled among Boston's respected citizens. One or two examples are selected as illustrations. On December 24, 1808, a loan of three hundred dollars was made to Charles Wells, a bricklayer, whose sureties were Leach Harris, a calker, and Seth Lothrop, a housewright. This loan was paid in full, and it doubtless led to that success which Mr. Wells achieved in his native city, and which made him worthy of the public stations and honors awarded him by his fellow-citizens, who finally elected him to the highest municipal office in Boston for the years 1832 and 1833.

Take a later case. A few years ago there was made to a young American printer, who had just married, a loan of three hundred dollars for the purchase of an outfit wherewith to set up his business. In about four or five years his literary taste was so stimulated by composition and proof-reading, that it attracted the attention of a Boston clergyman who had given him work. At the suggestion of the clergyman he sold out his business and entered into his adviser's service as an amanuensis and proof-reader. The clergyman discovering his ability urged him to study for the ministry, and gave him valuable aid to that end. He acquired information quite rapidly, and finally spent two years at the Harvard Divinity School. On leaving that institution he was settled over a small parish in this State, whence he was called at an increased salary to one of the principal towns in New Hampshire, where he is now the pastor of a flourishing church. Were other instances wanting (which is by no means the case), these two successful applications of Franklin's bequest exhibit in the clearest light the wisdom and foresight of the testator, who devised this novel plan to help the young mechanics of Boston and Philadelphia.

When the loans were first instituted, the apprentice system was in existence, by which young men intending to learn a trade bound themselves to serve for seven years some Master in the Arts, who, in lieu of compensation for such service, engaged to teach the apprentice the entire technic of the trade; so that at the end of the lad's term of service he would be fully qualified to engage in such business on his own account. But here, at the very threshold of his career, he was confronted with the hard fact that he had no tools with which to

begin his trade, neither had he any money for their purchase. This was the sharp pinch which Franklin's benefaction sought to remedy. From the generous fund provided by his will, the lad could, if he were married and under the age of twenty-five, borrow three hundred dollars, with which he could purchase the necessary tools and start his business. His master and his master's neighbor usually would be his bondsmen.

Franklin was a believer in early marriages as most conducive to morality and ultimate happiness. He therefore required of his candidates this safeguard against moral peril. At the suggestion of this judicious requirement one is forcibly reminded of the romantic incident that occurred to Franklin while a boarder with his friends Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Godfrey, of Philadelphia. Mrs. Godfrey became interested in the honesty and industry of her young boarder; and he tells us in his Autobiography, with a pathetic frankness, that "Mrs. Godfrey projected a match for me with a relation's daughter. Mrs. G. took opportunities of bringing us often together, till a serious courtship on my part ensued, the girl being in herself very deserving. Her old folks encouraged me by continual invitations to supper, till at length it was time to explain. Mrs. Godfrey managed our little treaty. I let her know that I expected as much money with their daughter as would pay off my remaining debt for the printing house, which I believe was not then above a hundred pounds. She brought me word they had no such sum to spare; I said they might mortgage their house in the loan-office. The answer to this after some days was — that they did not approve the match! and therefore I was forbidden the house, and the daughter was shut up." This rebuff was never forgotten by Franklin; hence it is a fair inference that the refusal of his prospective father-in-law to place a mortgage on his house in order to give his daughter and her lover a fair start in life suggested the principal conditions in the remarkable codicil under consideration. Thus he encouraged future apprentices to marry early, by practically providing in his bequest a dowry for each bride.

This scheme of loans, adopted over one hundred years ago, is practically the same in use to-day. Since the system of apprenticeship was abolished about seventy-five years ago, the Trustees have required each applicant to be simply a mechanic, or that he should intend to adopt a mechanical trade. He

can have the loan for ten years, but must pay back one-tenth of the principal each year, together with interest at five per cent on the balance of the loan unpaid.

During the first quarter of the century the money available for loans was nearly all taken by applicants therefor, for money was scarce and interest was generally high. In recent years the applications for loans have been comparatively few, for money has usually been plenty and cheap, and it is easier for a young man, if he be worthy and honest, to borrow three hundred dollars of a friend without giving bonds than to procure a loan from this Fund. Moreover, such are the changed conditions of modern life that a young mechanic under twenty-five cannot afford to marry and incur the necessary responsibilities and expense which such a relation involves.

In the absence of borrowers this Fund is now largely invested with moneyed institutions, where the interest is compounded annually.

Having noted the character of the Fund, let us look at its financial results.

The one hundred years of loans under Franklin's will terminated in Boston on July 1, 1891; but owing chiefly to some early losses, the Fund did not reach at this period the sum estimated by Dr. Franklin.¹

It was however determined by the Trustees at the end of the first century that in the distribution of the proceeds the same proportions should be observed as were fixed in his estimate.

The total amount of the Fund on July 1, 1891, was \$391,168.68. But, before the actual apportionment to the city could be estimated, the Trustees were enjoined from paying out one dollar, until a suit for the recovery of the entire Fund for their own benefit by the heirs of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia was heard and determined. The ground of this contest was that Franklin's bequest constituted a trust in perpetuity, which is illegal by the common law, except for a dis-

¹ The Franklin Fund of Philadelphia suffered in the early days losses from poor investments and from neglect to collect the interest and principal of its loans to an extent much greater than occurred in Boston, so that to-day the Philadelphia Fund amounts to only one quarter of the Boston Fund, or a little over one hundred thousand dollars. No division of the Fund, as projected by Franklin, has as yet been made. But this proposition has been suggested, that if the city of Philadelphia would appropriate a sum equal to its portion of the General Fund on hand, an Art Museum could be constructed in Fairmount Park.

tinently charitable purpose. The judgment of the lower court at Philadelphia was adverse to the heirs, who appealed the case through additional adverse decisions to the highest court of the State, which finally decided, in May, 1893, against the heirs; and the injunction was removed from both cities.

It will be remembered that Franklin expressed a wish that the money which should be awarded the city at this time should be expended in "public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, &c., or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers."

Upon the purchase by the city in 1881-82 of five hundred and twenty-seven acres of land in West Roxbury for a public park, the city issued bonds for the payment therefor. A large amount of these obligations matured in July, 1891, at the very time the city should have received its portion of the Franklin Fund. Anticipating this fact, the Board of Aldermen of 1882 passed the following resolves:—

"Resolved: That in the opinion of this Board, comprising a majority of the Trustees of the Franklin Fund, it is expedient and highly desirable that the proportion of the Fund, which will be available in 1891-2 for investments in some 'public work,' should be devoted to the extinguishment of the debt incurred for the purchase of the West Roxbury Park.

"Resolved: That, in the event of such disposition of the said portion of the Franklin Fund, the park just purchased should be called 'Franklin Park,' in honor of the testator, who has so generously endowed his native town."

Acting in the spirit of these resolves, the Park Commissioners at once called this ground "Franklin Park." But owing to the injunction by the heirs, the city's share of the Fund was not available in July, 1891, and the city's bonds, which matured about that date, had to be met in some other way. Fortunately, however, by the action of the Park Commissioners, the name of Franklin will always be associated with this popular park, though none of Franklin's money is invested there.

When the injunction was dissolved and the proceeds of the Fund became available in 1893, the Trustees determined, on October 30, that the city's share was \$322,490.20. As soon

as this sum was fixed, applications for its expenditure poured in upon the Trustees. There were twenty-seven of these petitions. But it was found that under the terms of the will only thirteen of the propositions could be legally entertained.

After a discussion by the Trustees upon the merits of these suggestions, it was finally and unanimously voted, on December 28, 1893, —

“That the sum set apart from the general Franklin Fund, as due to the city on July 1, 1893, viz. \$322,490.20, with its accumulations, be paid by the Treasurer of the Fund in January next, to the City Treasurer, to constitute a special fund for the purchase of land and for the erection thereon of a ‘Franklin Trades School’ and the equipment of the same: said expenditures to be made under the direction of such department as may for the time being be charged by the statutes and ordinances with the duty of erecting and furnishing public buildings in the City of Boston. The location of, and the plans for, said School to be approved by the Board of Managers of said Fund.”

Accordingly, on January 17, 1894 (Franklin’s birthday), the Treasurer of the Fund paid to the City Treasurer of Boston the foregoing sum with its accumulations to that date, amounting in the whole to \$329,300.48, which is to be devoted to the erection of the Franklin Trades School.

No land has yet been purchased and no definite plans for such building have been drawn. In the mean while the Fund established for this purpose is drawing interest in the city treasury at the rate of about six thousand dollars annually.¹

After the deduction of the city’s portion from the General Fund, there remained a balance of \$102,455.70, which was put on interest, and will earn interest through loans and investments until July 1, 1991, when the *principal* will be divided without restrictions between the City of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as provided in Franklin’s bequest; and the Fund will then cease to exist.

What magnificent results this second portion of the Fund will reach at that distant day may be imagined by the consideration of a single fact, which may be stated as follows. If \$5000 at five per cent interest for one hundred years, notwithstanding some early losses, produced over \$391,000, what will

¹ The amount in the City Treasury on October 1, 1897, to the credit of the Franklin Trades School was \$352,641.38.

\$102,500 produce, "if," as Franklin suggests, "no unfortunate event happens," at the end of another one hundred years? It will produce over twenty times as much, or nearly eight million dollars, to be divided between the City of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, — the city to receive about three million dollars, and the State nearly five million dollars. This, of course, is a *general* estimate.

It will at once be seen what a superb bequest this is, not alone in a pecuniary point of view, but vastly better, as an educational factor of great promise and value.

It will be doubtless asked, What will be the character and scope of the Franklin Trades School which the city has engaged to erect? It is now, and has for years been, a serious problem to devise occupation for such boys as annually emerge from our grammar schools who do not intend to enter the high schools for further education. Statistics show that over seventy per cent of boys committed to the Concord Reformatory have never touched a hand to any trade. While some graduates of our common schools enter stores or offices, there are others who become idlers upon our streets and wharves, and are pretty sure to drift into bad company. Many of these are bright lads, who only need to have some latent interest awakened to keep them out of mischief. The Franklin Trades School proposes to offer to the graduates of the grammar schools, or other lads of a suitable age, free instruction in such branches of mechanical arts as the boys incline to undertake. There will be competent teachers in all branches, and there will be practical work done in all stages of construction.¹ Every boy has some latent mechanical taste or ability, which only requires encouragement and development to attain perfection. Many boys who do not cultivate their heads may become proficient with their hands; and handicraft, when well directed and applied, is in turn a stimulus to brain power.

This school will take the place of the old apprentice system; and a diploma upon the lad's graduation will furnish a complete proof of his competency to do faithful work, and will entitle him, if he be under the age of twenty-five and becomes married, to a loan of three hundred dollars with which to set up his chosen art.

¹ For an interesting report upon the working and benefits of Trade Schools in different parts of the country, see City Document 165 for 1894.

Every master mechanic of the present day will testify that it is very difficult to find journeymen who fully understand their business; hence we see, or hear of, careless and negligent work in all departments.

After this school has been in full and successful operation for a few years, we may confidently expect that its annual graduates will take especial pride in their employments, and will elevate the character of their several occupations; so that all work accomplished by them will be of an enduring character, and be "done upon honor," as it used to be termed in the olden time. It will be readily seen, from this imperfect sketch, that the sagacity and foresight of the poor Boston boy, whose memory is recalled to-day, have given to his native city the greatest benefaction that it has ever received, and will perpetuate the name of Franklin for generations yet to come.

A brief account of the constitution of the Board of Managers of the Franklin Fund since the adoption of the City Charter of Boston is hereto appended.

Under the City Charter adopted February 23, 1822, the Mayor and Aldermen, nine in number, became the successors of the Selectmen of the town,¹ and, accordingly, with the ministers of the churches indicated in Dr. Franklin's will, they acted as Trustees of his donation. When the Revised City Charter was adopted, in November, 1854, the Board of Aldermen,² consisting of twelve persons, in connection with the ministers above named, acted as such Trustees.

The Board of Aldermen, thus composing a major part of the Trustees, have annually appointed an auditing committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and their records accordingly exhibit the state of the donation from year to year.

¹ "All the powers heretofore vested in the Selectmen of the town of Boston, either by the general laws of this Commonwealth, by particular laws relative to the powers and duties of said Selectmen, or by the usages, votes, or by-laws of said town, are vested in the Mayor and Aldermen as hereby constituted, as fully and amply as if the same were herein specially enumerated." (Stat. 1821, c. 110, § 13.)

² "All the powers on the 23d day of February, 1822, vested in the Selectmen of the town of Boston, either by the general laws of this Commonwealth, by particular laws relative to the powers and duties of said Selectmen, or by the usages, votes, or by-laws of said town, and all the powers vested in the Mayor and Aldermen, whether as Mayor and Aldermen, County Commissioners or otherwise shall, subject to the approval of the Mayor as aforesaid, be and hereby are vested in the Board of Aldermen as hereby constituted, as fully and amply as if the same were herein specially enumerated." (Stat. 1854, c. 448, § 33.)

As the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has to-day, in the second century of Franklin's bequest, a larger residuary interest in the existing Franklin Fund than has the City of Boston, a petition was presented to the Legislature of 1896 for the reconstruction of the Board of Managers of this Fund, so that it shall hereafter consist of the ministers of the churches mentioned in Franklin's will, and of seven other Trustees to be appointed jointly by the Governor and by the Mayor of Boston.

The Committee on the Judiciary reported a bill (House Document 702, 1896) based upon this petition. But upon a suggestion of some difficulties in such an Act, a substitute bill (House Document 1237) was proposed, by which the Supreme Judicial Court should appoint three persons at large who, together with the aforesaid ministers, should constitute the Board of Trustees, who by such bill were authorized to receive from the Treasurer of said Fund and from the City Treasurer all moneys belonging to or derived from said Fund. Neither of these proposed bills was enacted, it being thought that the Suffolk Probate Court held the proper jurisdiction in this matter.

On petition of Hon Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, Feby. 19, 1896, the said Probate Court decreed, on March 26th of the same year, that an authenticated copy of the will of Dr. Franklin as allowed in the State of Pennsylvania should be filed and recorded in the county of Suffolk as provided by law.¹

Subsequent to this action the City of Boston by its Corporation Counsel submitted to the Suffolk Probate Court a statement alleging that the old Board of Trustees went out of existence with the Board of Selectmen in 1822, and that, with the exception of the Ministers, there have been no legally constituted Trustees of the Franklin Fund up to this time, and asking the Court to appoint the Mayor and Aldermen by their individual names to be joined to said ministers for the desired purpose.

After a hearing of all parties in interest on this matter, Mr. Justice Grant, on July 11, 1897, decided that, as this was a public charity, the Attorney-General was the proper party to appear and make suggestions in the case, and that the City of Boston have leave to withdraw. The Court then afterward decided that it would appoint four laymen who, with the ministers mentioned, should hold and manage the Franklin Fund. Accordingly, on March 18, 1897, the Court announced its appointment of Henry L. Higginson, Charles T. Gallagher, Francis C. Welch, and Abraham Shuman, Rev. Charles W. Duane of the oldest Episcopal Church,² Rev. Stopford W. Brooke of the oldest Congregational Church, and Rev. Alexander K. McLennan of the oldest Presbyterian Church in this city, as Trustees of the Franklin Fund.

¹ Suffolk Probate Records, Book 712, page 1.

² Now Christ Church.

At the first meeting of said Trustees, held on April 22, 1897, Henry L. Higginson was elected Chairman, and Francis C. Welch was chosen Secretary of said Board. At this meeting it was voted that Messrs. Gallagher and Welch be a committee to look into the status of the two Funds and to demand payment and to give receipt therefor; also that if the Funds were not paid over to the new Board, the same gentlemen are to take such action as may be deemed desirable to place said Funds in the control of the Trustees. To determine this matter a writ of *quo warranto* has been served upon the City Treasurer, and will be passed upon by the Supreme Judicial Court.¹

Incidental remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. WILLIAM S. APPLETON, GEORGE B. CHASE, A. C. GOODSELL, JR., SAMUEL A. GREEN, THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and EDWARD J. YOUNG.

A new volume of the Proceedings — 2d series, vol. xi. — was ready for delivery at this meeting.

¹ The Treasurers of the Franklin Fund and the dates of their appointment by the Trustees have been as follows: 1791, Thomas Edwards; 1799, Russell Sturgis; 1801, John Tileston; 1807, Peter Thacher; 1811, William Minot; 1866, Frederic U. Tracy; 1876, Samuel F. McCleary.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P.M.; SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D., Vice-President, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting the Vice-President said:—

Since the last meeting of this Society, we have met with a great loss. The name of Justin Winsor has been stricken from the roll of our living members, as he died at his home in Cambridge, on October 22, at the age of sixty-six years. Only one short month ago he sat here as the presiding officer, and enriched our proceedings by an account of some of his pleasant experiences in England during the past summer. At that meeting, to all appearances, he looked as if he were good for many a year to come, but the issue proved otherwise. He was stricken down by a fatal illness, and died at the end of a few days.

In his death scholarship has received a staggering blow which will long be felt in various branches of study, particularly in American history and bibliography. In regard to the early maps of this continent, he was, probably, better informed than any other person. His researches in Columbian literature had brought to his knowledge the combined results of all the original investigators of the subject; and on more than one occasion before this Society he has shown his complete mastery of the details of early American cartography.

My acquaintance with Winsor began before he went to Cambridge, at a time when he was engaged on his "History of Duxbury," a work which was published before he entered college. At that early period in his literary life, a marked peculiarity of the man was his capacity for work, and the ease with which he turned it off; and this trait never forsook him. He always seemed to enjoy work, and the harder it was, the

easier it seemed to come to him. More than once, in talking with him, I have said that he was doing too much, and that he did not take recreation or vacation enough, when he would reply, with that pleasant smile so characteristic of him, "Oh! I like work; it is better than rest or recreation."

Mr. Winsor was a great organizer, and he had the happy faculty of selecting the right persons for subordinate places, those who would work well together and carry out his plans. This was, in part, the secret of his success as librarian of the Boston Public Library, where all his lieutenants were so thoroughly loyal to him. They seemed to become infected with his enthusiasm, and it was felt down even in the lowest grades of service. When he took the office at the Public Library, there were those among his friends who looked with distrust on the appointment, as he was still untried in any public capacity; but he made his presence there soon felt, and his success proved how ungrounded was their feeling. It took only a short time for him to show that he was a master of the situation, and that he held it in his grasp, — as he has often done since in other places. He was thoroughly acquainted with the minutest details of every subordinate position, and could give the proper orders in any department. While there he reduced the whole management of the library to a regular system, which worked to a charm; and when the city dispensed with his services, it was a public misfortune. But what Boston then lost, Harvard gained.

At Cambridge Winsor continued to grow, and he became a leader among librarians. It was largely through his efforts that the American Library Association was formed, which has done so much to make bibliothecal management recognized as a distinct science in the world of letters; and he was the first president of that body. His pen was never idle, and he wrote much on many special subjects, particularly those bearing on library science and the technical history of books. The two most important works that came out under his editorship, perhaps, were the "Memorial History of Boston," and the "Critical and Narrative History of America," with which this Society had a nominal connection. At the time of his death, by general consent, Mr. Winsor was acknowledged to be the foremost librarian in the country, whether considered as an executive officer or as one familiar with the contents of books.

On his services as an historian and an original investigator of historical material, it is needless now to dwell, as his labors in those departments are so well known. He was chosen a member of the Historical Society, on June 14, 1877; and since then many of his literary productions have appeared in our Proceedings.

It may be proper to add to these remarks that Mr. Winsor has bequeathed to the Society a valuable collection of books and volumes of maps, numbering two hundred in all, which will eventually come to the Library.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D., having been asked to speak of Mr. Winsor's services as Librarian of Harvard University, said: —

Mr. Winsor was the first librarian I ever saw whose fundamental policy, never lost sight of for a moment, was to get books used, even though they should be used up. Many librarians have diligently collected books and carefully stored them away; he was diligent in collecting, but chiefly he tried to get books read and studied. In both the great libraries he administered, first in the Boston Public Library, and then in the Harvard University Library, he worked steadily to increase the home use of the books in his charge, and to facilitate the use of them within the Library. He liked to record year by year the accessions to a collection, but he was far more interested in the statistics of circulation and use. He came to the Harvard Library in 1877, and within three years he was able to report that whereas in 1874-75 only fifty-seven per cent of the students in the Cambridge departments of the University made use of the Library, in 1879-80 seventy-seven per cent used it. In 1893 he mentions that out of 1,449 undergraduates only 41 made no recorded use of the Library. In all his annual reports he presents statistics on the use of the Library, and nothing gave him so much satisfaction as a demonstration of increasing use.

He devised and put into operation a systematic method of admitting specially recommended students by the hundred to the shelves of the book-stack, so that they could freely handle the classes of books which most nearly concerned them. From the point of view of the ordinary librarian, this access

of many persons to the shelves was dangerous in the extreme, suggesting endless possibilities of misplacements, injuries, and losses. Mr. Winsor would run all these risks in order to offer all possible facilities to real students.

Mr. Winsor's administration of the University Library was a very important factor in the development of the instruction given at Cambridge. In his first report as Librarian, written in 1878, he says: "I wish to see it [the Library] become not merely in complimentary phrase the centre of the University system, but in actual working, indispensable and attractive to all. The new methods of teaching in the University must necessarily render the Library more and more important among the various agencies of instruction." This serviceableness of the Library to all departments of instruction he constantly sought to make real and to increase. Thus he developed very much the practice of reserving for use in Gore Hall, on shelves accessible to all comers, large sets of books indicated by the instructors as desirable for students in their several classes. The number of books thus reserved by request of teachers was 3,330 in 1879-80; in 1895-96 the number was 7,742. He was extraordinarily liberal in consenting to the withdrawal from Gore Hall of thousands of volumes for deposit in the detached laboratory and class-room libraries. His one thought was, Where will the books be of most use? On the same principle he was always ready to send books to great distances for temporary use by learned men. For the teachers connected with the University he was disposed at all times to procure at once books which they desired for the better prosecution of their work. He advocated and brought about Sunday use and evening use of the Library.

His careful oversight extended to every department of the Library, — to the ordering of books, the cataloguing, the shelving, the binding, and the circulation. He took a strong interest in the University records and archives, and first made suitable provision in the Library for this special collection. But the object of Mr. Winsor's particular care and affection was the extensive and precious collection of maps, for which the Harvard Library has long been distinguished. For the American hemisphere he was the most learned and judicious cartographer in the world.

The position of a University Librarian, surrounded by a large number of teachers and advanced students who are all specialists, and each of whom has a clear view of his own needs and of the claims of his subject, and but a dim perception of the needs and claims of others, is often one of considerable embarrassment. Among the numerous departments of instruction Mr. Winsor held an even hand. His mind was open to all claims, old or new, and his decisions about the application of the Library income were eminently fair. He was tolerant of everything except abuse of Library privileges. If a teacher borrowed an unreasonable number of books, and kept them at home for months or years in violation of the regulations, the Librarian felt and showed indignation. If a student got possession of a reserved book, and hid it from his fellows, so that he might have the exclusive enjoyment of it, the Librarian wanted to have the culprit's name posted in sight of all comers. He deplored the losses of the Library by theft; but he was never willing to restrict the use of the books because of these losses.

Mr. Winsor was considerate and gentle towards subordinates, while at the same time he exacted diligent, intelligent, and interested service. The whole staff of the Library from bottom to top was warmly attached to him. Towards the government of the University, on the other hand, Mr. Winsor had a strong feeling of respect and loyalty. He liked to serve bodies which have come down from the early years of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, bringing with them through centuries honorable traditions, stable policies, and public consideration. It suited his historical and antiquarian tastes to be employed in their service; and he was always ready to defer to their wishes.

Although Mr. Winsor's administration was absolutely diligent and thorough, his knowledge of the whole subject was so comprehensive, and his quickness in executive work was so great, that from his first coming to the Library in 1877 he had much leisure, in spite of the fact that he was harassed throughout his administration by the inadequacy of Gore Hall, and was repeatedly obliged to invent and carry out temporary makeshifts. This leisure he used with extraordinary diligence for twenty years in historical research, editorship, and authorship. The precious fruits of these congenial labors are well

known to this Society. It was understood in 1877, between the new Librarian and the President of the University, that such leisure as he might get would be used in this scholarly and serviceable way. The Harvard chronicler of this period will probably remain in doubt whether the University then enjoyed the services of a Librarian who was an historical scholar, or of an historical scholar who was Librarian.

It might naturally be asked why a man of Mr. Winsor's extensive and unusual learning took so little part in the historical instruction given at Cambridge. In the year 1892-93 he did give a half-course on the effects of geographical discovery in North America on the struggle of England, France, and Spain for the possession of the Continent; and for the current year a half-course by him was announced on geographical discovery in North America and its cartographical relations; but by his desire a note beneath this announcement stated, "There will be no examination in this course, and it cannot be counted toward a degree." The fact is that Mr. Winsor, though entirely willing to give instruction, was not willing to use the regular means of testing the attainments of students, and making record of those attainments as grounds of conferring a degree. He could not bring himself to use marks or grades, or to hold examinations, or to inform himself in any way about the industry and progress of the students who attended his courses. The elective system at Harvard University is a system; it allows choice of study, but requires every student to pursue a definite number of studies, and to make at least some moderate attainment in each, and, as a system should, it regularly brings forward the great mass of students to a degree. This system did not commend itself to Mr. Winsor's judgment, although the free election of studies was entirely to his mind.

Mr. Winsor exercised a simple hospitality at his home. He liked to invite to his house strangers who came to visit the Library or the University at large; and he took pleasure in gathering about him the young instructors, particularly those connected with the departments of History and Geography. This external hospitality was a symbol of his mental hospitality. He was a true descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers, and his mind was ever open to new projects, new enterprises, and new truth.

The Hon. MELLEŒ CHAMBERLAIN, having been called on, said : —

Apart from Mr. Winsor's personal relations with many who loved and respected him as they loved and respected but few, his connection with libraries, his own historical works and his promotion of those of others, and his manifestation of administrative and executive ability in many fields entitle him to most respectful and lasting remembrance. Others on this occasion have spoken, or will speak, of these characteristics of Mr. Winsor. You have asked me to say a few words on Mr. Winsor's connection with the Boston Public Library, chiefly, I must think, because I was his successor as Superintendent, or Librarian, as that officer was called in my day. But I had no personal knowledge of Mr. Winsor as superintendent, or was ever in the Library during his incumbency, or ever saw him save once when he came into the court in which I was sitting as judge, on some complaint which concerned the Library.

You, Mr. President, on the other hand, were a trustee during his whole brilliant administration, and on his retirement were placed in charge of his office until my own election as Librarian. You therefore had an official obligation and the amplest opportunities for witnessing almost daily the extraordinary ability and devotion with which he discharged the manifold and exacting duties of his office, and of which you have just now most fittingly spoken.

But though, as I have said, I had no personal acquaintance with Mr. Winsor during his official term, it is true that no sooner had I taken my chair than with special pains I endeavored to understand the nature and extent of Mr. Winsor's library views, plans, and labors during his ten years' incumbency. This endeavor included not merely a cursory examination of the annual reports of the trustees, the examining committee, and the librarian, but a study of them with a thoroughness which I had brought to the study of but few things save those relating to my profession. I was not only amazed, but quite dismayed at the prospect of attempting to fill an office which I had not sought, but to which I had been elected while endeavoring to promote the election of a friend.

Mr. Winsor was a trustee in 1867, and made chairman of

the examining committee for that year, and wrote their report. This report attracted attention far and wide as a masterly, indeed as an unprecedented, presentation of all conceivable questions relating to the public library and its constituents. The latter he justly regarded as including every member of the community, old and young, rich and poor, and was perhaps the first who did; and he endeavored to determine their relative rights whether as students of science, of philosophy, of history, of *belles lettres*, or of those who sought to gratify their taste for the more popular forms of literature. Nor was this a merely sentimental regard for the rights of the poor. It was a real purpose which he practically achieved when he became superintendent, and not without difficulty; for the trustees were not a unit as to the practicability of such a plan.

He investigated and reported on the increase of the collection, and the means which might be relied on for its continued growth on lines which would satisfy the reasonable demands of the people. Did the catalogue system afford to the public reasonably prompt access to the collection? Were the expenditures judicious? Was the library open as much as was possible? Was it useful to all classes? Were the facilities of the reading-rooms capable of being improved? In short, he investigated and reported on all matters which concerned the improvement of the library.

Such investigations and reports are not unprecedented. They are common in all countries, and in all departments of affairs. The difficulty is that in many, perhaps most, cases, even where the remedy is within the power of the official, he remains content with the wisdom of his recommendations, and makes little or no effort to realize them. Not so with Mr. Winsor. He was not an idealist, still less a mere theorizer. He was the most practical man I ever knew in bringing things to pass. I well recollect on reading this masterly report, that during his superintendency he brought about every change and every new thing which he recommended with a completeness and thoroughness exemplified in our history, so far as I recall, only by Alexander Hamilton's success in regard to the adoption by Congress of those celebrated financial measures which he recommended, and with which was connected the sudden and unprecedented success of the new government. And I may as well say now, as at any other time, that Mr.

Winsor's administrative and executive powers were not restricted to the management of libraries or co-operative historical enterprises. I think that had he been put in management of a great railroad or manufacturing corporation, in three months after accession he would have made changes which would have done honor to a Vanderbilt or a Jay Gould.

There is another fact which I most particularly desire to mention. When I came to the Public Library, I found it in perfect order and running itself, so to speak, without the need of a directing head. This was due to the efficiency of Mr. Winsor's administration. He had trained his assistants to self-discipline and correct habits. Others in various fields of administration have done the same; but with a tendency, as is too often seen, to relapse when the strong personality has been withdrawn. But what seems to me most remarkable is, that during my twelve years of administration I discovered no such tendency; for Mr. Winsor had not only formed correct habits in his associates, but he had also formed their *permanent character*, as may be seen in those who now survive him, twenty years after his retirement from the Library.

I have said that I did not know Mr. Winsor while he was Librarian, but after I became one our relations were intimate. I not only received valuable assistance from him in the perplexities of my new office, but he honored me with his friendship. He was often in my house and I in his for days every year after he had his summer residence in the country. During his late visit to England, though overwhelmed by official duties as president of the American Library Association, and social affairs, he found time to write to me several long and interesting letters. They were realistic. In them was no gush. They contained exactly what I wished to know.

I allude to these personal relations as giving me a certain right to say what I am now about to say.

Mr. Winsor once wrote me that he had little confidence in what is called the "philosophy of history." He believed — as his work shows — in letting the facts tell their story without the interjection of the opinions of their collector. I have no doubt that he was led to this opinion by his possession of two mental powers not often exhibited. First, he saw facts more swiftly and more accurately than most men do, however able; that is, he saw beneath the husks or other wrappings to the

essential quality of the thing. And secondly, he saw — what is equally rare — the relation of one fact to another, and their correlation to any particular period or event. Hence history as he wrote it is concrete, not imaginative. Nor was his arrangement or collocation of the observed facts less exact or effective. As an attempt to make more clear what I wish to say let me give an extemporaneous illustration, first remarking that Mr. Winsor seems to have arranged his knowledge in all departments scientifically. Had he studied mineralogy (or any other natural science) without special knowledge of its classification by its masters, he, by original mental qualities, would have sought to discover the essential characteristics of each specimen, and then their essential relations to each other, and then arranged them in their just correlation, which would constitute the history of the science without the aid of any theoretical speculations. I do not mean to say that Mr. Winsor thought that the conclusions of profound thinkers on such subjects were without value, but that he would value more highly the results of scientific examinations of the essential facts.

With these views Mr. Winsor wrote his histories. Of course, the difficulty of this mode of treatment is that for the most part people lack Mr. Winsor's insight. I say most people; of course, there have been in all ages those who possessed this power, to which in no small measure they owe their success and reputation; but speaking for myself, and having in mind my limited acquaintance with our historical productions, I am willing to say that I have never read the works of an American of this generation who has shown the possession of this faculty in like measure as Mr. Winsor possessed it.

He seems to have begun his studies and pursued them in this habit of classification and arrangement of whatever he saw, read, or thought. His memory was almost preternaturally quick and retentive. Therefore he was always ready. He never was obliged to fumble for his authorities. In the dark he could find the book he needed for reference, and turn to the page which would answer his inquiry. Perhaps I may relate an instance of this which occurred in my own house. We were discussing some historical question, when a difference between us arose as to a question of fact. "Have you such a book in your library?" he asked; and before I could answer him, he said, glancing at my shelves, "Oh,

yes, I see it," and seizing it without the trouble of consulting the index, turned at once to the page he desired to consult. In my astonishment I asked him how lately he had read the work. "Not for ten years," he replied. "Your memory for pages is rather extraordinary," I replied. "It is fairly serviceable," was his answer.

Mr. Winsor's insight as to men was no less acute and accurate than his insight as to the facts of history. He was for many years president of the American Library Association, which I attended so long as I was a librarian. This association had its fair share of cranks and impracticable theorists.

I never saw Clay, Blaine, or Reed in the Speaker's chair; but I have served in both houses of the General Court when they were presided over by men of distinction, and I think I may say without exaggeration that I have never known any presiding officer who sooner got control of his assembly or handled it more efficiently or judiciously for the progress of the business in hand.

In concluding these extemporaneous remarks, I wish merely to add that I have known men who could do some things and say some things in a way that Mr. Winsor could not; but in the variety of gifts of a high grade, in the completeness of his intellectual and moral character, I have known no one whom I more respected, or whose qualities I have more sincerely wished were my own.

MR. CHARLES C. SMITH, having been called on, said: —

It has been well said by one of our most valued associates, that in the fourteen years since the death of George Dexter this Society has suffered no loss from its working membership so great as by the death of Justin Winsor. Mr. Dexter, who was compelled by ill health to resign the office of Recording Secretary a few months before his death, had been a member for only six years: Mr. Winsor, who was elected in the same year as Mr. Dexter, had rounded out twenty years of varied activity as member of the Council, Corresponding Secretary, and Vice-President. But their names will always be associated together in the memories of those who are most familiar with the work of the Society in the last twenty-five years. Both were men of large and various acquirements, thoroughly interested

in promoting the objects for which this Society was organized, and both rendered services here never to be forgotten. Both were in the full vigor of their intellectual powers, and from both many further and not less important services might reasonably have been looked for, if they had been longer spared to us. Winthrop, Ellis, Deane, Richard Frothingham, and many of those whose loss we have most deeply felt, had reached a period of life when labor had long ceased to be a pleasure; but of Mr. Winsor no one could say this who saw him presiding here a month ago.

Of what he did elsewhere, as the head of the Boston Public Library, as Librarian of Harvard University, as a writer for the periodical press, as an editor, and as an historian, I scarcely need say a word. Seventeen years ago the late Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of the elder University of Cambridge, said of Mr. Winsor that he stood at the head of their profession. That pre-eminence he never lost. His mind was singularly fertile in expedients for promoting the largest and most convenient use of books, and his executive capacity was only less than his insatiable love of work. As a writer, he had a clear, vigorous, and pointed style, which sometimes, indeed, left a sting behind. As an editor, he took all knowledge for his province, and his supplemental notes in the "Memorial History of Boston" and in the "Narrative and Critical History of America" filled all the gaps which his contributors had left. As an historian, his works form a permanent addition to historical literature, and he touched no subject which he did not bring out into a new and more luminous atmosphere. In cartography, his latest and favorite field of labor, he had gained a foremost place, and his opinions were eagerly sought for, and were accepted as of well-nigh determining weight.

As a member of this Society, his labors began with his election, and continued with ever-increasing extent and value down to the last week of his life. At the first meeting which followed the reading of his acceptance of membership, our printed Proceedings make record of the fact that Mr. Winsor, "who had but recently returned from the Library Conference in London," spoke "of a visit he made to the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham, where he saw the original manuscript of Governor Bradford's 'History of Plymouth Plantation,' printed by this Society in 1856, which he hoped might

yet be restored to this country.”¹ At our last meeting, which was held just one week after his arrival home from another Library Conference in London, he mentioned a recent conversation with another Bishop of London, and related some curious and interesting facts connected with the return of the Bradford manuscript. His first communication and his last communication to this Society had reference to the earliest history of the Old Colony, of which he was a loyal son. At the Annual Meeting, in 1879, he was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Council, where he served for two years; and at the expiration of his term he succeeded Mr. Deane as Corresponding Secretary. On the death of Mr. Parkman he was transferred to the Vice-Presidency. No one was more regular or more prompt at the meetings of the Council or of the Society. Both there and here his wide knowledge of men and books was always at the service of his associates; and no one took a deeper interest in everything connected with the welfare of the Society. All, or nearly all, the later volumes of our Proceedings have been enriched by his contributions to their pages; and we have all seen with what dignity he presided at our meetings when the President was absent. A thoroughly equipped scholar, a tireless worker, an agreeable companion, a steadfast friend, has gone from our number.

Mr. Winsor had a prosperous, happy, and fruitful life. Educated at home and abroad with the best advantages, he found at a comparatively early age the place for which his education and his tastes alike fitted him; and thenceforward his time was spent in congenial pursuits and among cherished friends. Honors and appreciation came to him in rich abundance. But three years ago he experienced the one great sorrow of his life, in the sudden death of his only child, a married daughter; and he was never afterward, I think, the same man. What such a loss must mean he already knew by sympathy. “Oh, the hazard of an only child! I have one!” he wrote to a friend twelve years before. After a brief interval he resumed his labors here and elsewhere, but the chief zest of life was gone, never to be recovered. At our meeting in January, 1895, his seat was vacant, and for some months he took little part in our proceedings; but in the following November he read an

¹ See Proceedings, vol. xv. p. 380.

elaborate paper on "The Earliest Printed Books connected with the Aborigines of New England." Our last published volume of Proceedings contains, besides mention of the remarks made by him as presiding officer or in the course of some discussion, five communications from his pen, — three of them of considerable length. They were the last fruits of a singularly industrious and useful life.

Professor ALBERT BUSHNELL HART spoke substantially as follows:—

To most of the members of this Society Mr. Winsor was an associate, a valued friend; you shared his labors, some of you were collaborators in his greatest work; you sat with him in council, and enjoyed his hearty pleasure in the society of his classmates and old friends. There was another side in his life, and I desire to express the feelings which he aroused in a younger generation, who looked up to him as a master in the craft upon which they were entering. This is a side which comes home to me to-day; and I have felt his influence so long and so deeply, and the sense of personal loss is so strong that it is hard to say anything.

We all knew that Mr. Winsor was a great librarian, and we all knew the extent and the value of his literary work. Equally important were his relations with young men, and the effect which his personality and his interest had upon them. For many years it was his pleasure to gather about him, at his own home and elsewhere, students and young instructors. He entered into their organizations; he repeatedly entertained the Harvard Historical Society; he was at the time of his death president of the Harvard Memorial Society, to which he freely gave time and the advantage of his great learning. His home for years overflowed with eager young life. There is in existence a photograph taken on Robert C. Winthrop's estate, which shows Mr. Winsor, Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Ellis, and Francis Parkman, — all now gone to their rest, — with a background of young men, members of the Harvard Historical Society of that time: the picture well typifies the relation which Mr. Winsor loved to keep up with the younger generation.

Nor was this a passive relation only; there was in Mr. Winsor's character and in his habits of work something which drew the

affection and stimulated the purposes of those who knew him. First of all, there was his cordial, kindly, genuine desire to put young men forward, to bring them into the acquaintance of the learned, to set chances in their way. Some of them he retained as writers for his "Narrative and Critical History"; to others he passed on some of the opportunities of literary work which were always being pressed upon him. I cannot forget, what many of you know, that my own membership in this honorable Society is due to Mr. Winsor's confidence in me at a time when I had done little to show that that confidence was justified. And I know that there are many of my generation who have experienced the same sort of kindness, and have the same feeling of grateful affection.

Another thing which always impressed those younger than himself was Mr. Winsor's irresistible pertinacity: whatever he undertook to do was done, — he measured his own powers so well that the "Narrative and Critical History" was finished almost to a day in the contract time. No matter how heavy a task he assumed, he carried it through.

Mr. Winsor's "infinite capacity for taking pains" was another memorable quality. No labor was too minute for him. He loved the truth, and sought for it at the ultimate sources of truth. He hated shams, and had in reserve a special and delightful pepperiness for those who practised them. I remember a case of a very self-assertive young man, who came with flamboyant letters of introduction, and the manuscript of an atlas of the world's history; when Mr. Winsor ascertained that he had little education, no special preparation, and no knowledge of languages, he expressed his mind to that young man in a way to make him doubt the value of his labors.

I will not speak of the personal loss which Mr. Winsor's death brings. We have all lost a friend in him; but it goes much deeper than that with me. When he left us, my heart went out after him as did Elisha's, — "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!"

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, D.C.L., spoke briefly of the broad and liberal spirit in which Mr. Winsor had administered the Harvard University Library, cordially indorsing what President Eliot had said, and adding some further illustrations of Mr. Winsor's desire to increase its usefulness.

Mr. W. P. UPHAM communicated the following account of a collection of papers among the Suffolk Court Files (being the case numbered 65,640) relating to what was known as the Canada Expedition of 1747.

These papers may be found to give valuable information, hitherto unpublished, to the student of the military operations at that period immediately succeeding the capture of Louisbourg.

An action of trespass on the case was brought by Governor Shirley against Samuel Waldo at the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, in January, 1748-9, the cause of action being that Waldo had not rendered his "reasonable account" of certain large sums placed in his hands for the purpose of paying off the soldiers, officers, etc., who were enlisted in the proposed expedition against Canada. The damage claimed was £12,000. The judgment at the Inferior Court was in favor of Waldo. Shirley appealed to the Superior Court of Judicature in February, 1748-9, where the former judgment was reversed, and judgment was rendered for Shirley to recover £500 and costs. On this judgment Shirley obtained a Writ of Review, claiming that the judgment should have been for £12,000, the original damage claimed.

Among the papers in the case are the following of special interest:—

The 5th paper is a "Memorial" by Shirley to the Superior Court, April 25, 1749, in which complaint is made that Waldo had not delivered to him the vouchers as he, Shirley, contended ought to have been done. Benjamin Prat was counsel for Shirley.

The 6th paper is the Answer of Waldo, April 28, 1749, in which he appears to give a very clear and ample defence of his action as to the vouchers. Benjamin Kent was counsel for Waldo.

The 7th paper is a copy of a bond to prosecute a Review by Samuel Waldo, April 15, 1749.

The 8th paper is a letter of instructions from Shirley to Waldo, October 28, 1747.

The 9th paper is a letter from Waldo to Shirley, February 21, 1748-9, as to the accounts and vouchers. (See below these two papers in full.)

The 10th paper is another letter from Waldo to Shirley, October 19, 1748, and gives a full account of the matter as to the vouchers.

The 11th and 12th papers are two letters from Shirley, the first of June 26, 1748, to Waldo, and the second of October 29, 1748, to Thomas Hutchinson as to the same subject.

Then follows a great number of Accounts, Muster Rolls, Pay Rolls, Lists of Deserters, Receipts, and Depositions.

The 111th paper is an interesting deposition by Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq., of Boston, April 11, 1749, that there was "extreme discontent" among the men "on their orders for allowing 'em but 2^d a Day."

"That this Declarant soon after this was in Company with Gov^r Shirley & Brig^d Waldo, when Governour Shirley told Brig^d Waldo that Mr Knowles & himself had agreed that the non Commission Officers & Private men of his & Brig^d Dwights late Regiment should have the following Pay making the usual Stoppages out of it for Poundage Chelsea Hospital & Agency a Serg^t 12^d a Corporal & Drummer 8^d & a private man 6^d & likewise to Stop for medicines 6^d a month from a Serg^t: 4^d a month from a Corporal & Drummer & 3^d a month from a Private man these particulars this Declarant well remembers were Orders given by Gov^r Shirley to Brig^d Waldo when he was present & that this settle^{mt}: of the Soldiers pay was determin'd on by Gov^r Shirley & Admiral Knowles was before the riot arose here the 17th Nov^r 1747 & this Dep^t: has heard them in their Discourse several times mention this their beforemention'd agreement."

The 116th paper is a deposition, April 11, 1749, by John Shirley (son of the Governor) to the same effect.

[Court Files Suffolk No. 65640, 8th paper.]

[1]

Boston October 28th 1747

SIR

In Pursuance of his Majestys Commands signified to his Excell^{cy} Governour Knowles and me, I hereby direct and require you to cause the inclosed Discharge of the Troops rais'd for the intended Expedition against Canada forthwith to be read or published among the Officers & Soldiers of the Regiment of Foot under your Command rais'd for the aforesaid Service, in such manner as you shall think most convenient and proper; and to discharge 'em accordingly out of his Majestys said Service from the 31^o day of this Instant October: and whereas it is Expressed in the inclosed Discharge that all the Troops (except four hundred) are thereby discharged; you are not to under-

stand that any Soldiers is to be kept in his Majestys Service agst his will & free Consent; But only that four hundred of 'em who are willing to continue in the Service, for the Defence of his Majestys Garrison at Annapolis Royal for the space of one year, and to be discharged at the end of it, shall be continued in Pay for that Purpose and receive a Bounty of £15 old Tenour as an Encouragement, besides, to be forthwith paid with the wages due to 'em for their past Services, and Cloathing delivered to 'em before they embark; and you are to return to me, as soon as may be five setts of Muster Rolls of the several Officers and Soldiers of the Regim^t under your Command, distinguishing the Companys into which they were form'd with the respective times of every Officers entring into his Majestys Service & days, on which the Soldiers were enlisted into it; also an account of the Deaths of the Officers and men, which have happen'd to dye since they entred into the Service, wth the times when they happen'd; as also of the Dismissions & Desertions of any of the Soldiers & times of their being discharged & deserting, togeather with an Account of the Commission & Non Commission Officers and private men of your Regiment now remaining in the Service all which Rolls Lists, and accounts must be duly certified by the proper Officers under their hands upon Oath to be taken before me.

You are also to give orders to the several Captains or other Commanding officers of the Companies of your Regiment to Collect the Arms & Accoutrements of the Soldiers belonging to the Companies under their respective Commands, in order to be delivered to such officer, as I shall appoint to receive the same from 'em, and kept for his majestys further Service and you are to acquaint the said Captains that they are Chargeable with the said Arms and Accoutrements and Accountable for such of 'em, as shall not be delivered up for his Majestys Service. —

To Brigadier General WALDO

[2] The men are to be paid of at the following rates Viz^t such of the Private men, who have not march'd out of the Province in this Service, are to receive after the rate of 6^d Sterling $\varnothing$ day, out of which a Stoppage must be made of 4^d for their Provisions, so that there will remain to be paid in money to them 2^d Sterling $\varnothing$ day, the Corporals after the rate of 8^d Sterling $\varnothing$ day out of which the same Stoppage is to be made for their Provisions, so that 4^d Sterling $\varnothing$ day will remain to be paid in money to them, the Sargeants after the Rate of 1^s Sterling $\varnothing$ day, out of which the like Stoppage is to be made for their Provisions, so that there will remain 8^d Sterling $\varnothing$ day to be paid in money to them; and this is agreeable to the terms of their Enlistments in which no more is promised than the usual Pay of his Majestys Troops Viz^t 6^d Sterling

½ day for a Private man 8^d for a Corporal & 1^s for a Sargeant, out of which they find themselves with Provisions, and where Provisions are found for them, as in the Case of Lt Gen^l Phillips's Regiment in Garrison at Annapolis Royal & in Newfoundland a Stoppage of 4^d Sterling ½ day is made out of their Pay for it; & in this Case it makes no difference with respect to the Soldiers, that Provisions have been generally found for 'em at the Charge of the Colonies, where they were rais'd & not the Crown's; For that was not given 'em as the Bounty of the several Colonies, but was required by his Majesty from those Colonys to be done in Ease¹ of the National Expence, & as what was their reasonable part of the Charges to be incurr'd by the late intended Expedition, set on foot chiefly for the immediate Benefit of the several Colonies concern'd in it; and considering that those Troops have not marched out of their respective Colonies, they have no Pretence to expect more than what was promised 'em by the Terms of their Inlistment & ought to be satisfied with that. —

As to all those Levies which have marched out of the several Colonies, where they were rais'd except those sent to Nova Scotia, an allowance of 2^d Sterling ½ day extraordinary to them upon that Consideration will be sufficient; but to those Troops w^{ch} were sent to Nova Scotia or Embarked for that Province, tho they had the misfortune thro Shipwreck & Sickness not to arrive there, M^r Knowles and I think they ought to have on account of their Service and hard Duty, w^{ch} Occasioned 'em a greater Expence of Cloaths & other things than the rest of the Troops had 6^d Sterling ½ day above their Provisions² from the Time of their Embarkation for Nova Scotia, till their return to their several Colonies; before and after w^{ch} times a Stoppage must be made out of their Pay for their Provisions & they receive no more in money than 2^d ½ day, & the several Levies are to be paid off accordingly after those Rates.

And the several Captains are to make returns of what Sum or Sums of money have been paid to every man in their respective Companys.

[3] And you are to acquaint the several Officers of your Regiment that if they find any of the men have entertained an expectation of retaining their Arms, they should observe to 'em, that in the Case of the Troops first rais'd in this Province for the Expedition against Canada in Queen Anns time, tho her late Majesty had (among other things) for an Encouragement to men to enlist for that Service expressly promised that they should retain³ their arms, (which is not promised by his Majesty in this Expedition) and those Troops had actually proceeded out of y^e Province as far as [Blank] in their march towards

¹ This word substituted for "convenience."

² This word substituted for "Permissions."

³ These last three words underscored.

Canada where they staid a considerable time (which these Troops have not done) yet upon orders being sent to disband 'em the Massachusetts Government obliged 'em to deliver up their Arms to be kep't for his Majestys Service when the Expedition should be prosecuted, & that in this Case the duke of New Castle has only signified in his Letter to me that his Majesty had laid aside the design of prosecuting "the Expedition against Canada for the present."¹

I am also to acquaint you that his Majesty having Commanded Mr Knowles & me to keep such a Number of the American Levies in Pay, as we shall judge sufficient to protect Nova Scotia agst the French of Canada, and the Season of the year being too far advanc'd to admit of anything furthers being done this winter than to reinforce the Garrison at Annapolis Royal, we have determined to keep four hundred of 'em in Pay for that Service, and I doubt not but your Zeal for his Majestys Service will prompt you to do every thing in your Power for engaging as many Soldiers of your Regiment, as you can to go upon that Duty upon the Encouragement and Terms I have herein before mentioned.

I am

Sir

Your most Hum^{ble} Serv^t

W SHIRLEY

P. S. I desire you would assure the

Soldiers that I will use my best

Endeavours to obtain Pay from

this Govern^t over and above his Majestys for all such of 'em, as have been employed either in marching or scouting, or in Garrison for the defence of the Frontiers of this Province

W. SHIRLEY

Copy of the original Exam^d p SAM WINTHROP Cler²

[Indorsed] The Gov^{rs} orders to Brig^r Waldo

Oct^o 28, 1747.

filed in Court.

[9th paper.]

SIR, — Had your Excellency comply'd with either of the many Promises, You have been pleas'd to make me by M^r Speaker Hutchinson & D^r Clarke respecting the Settlement of the depending Accounts of the Regiment, which has now been disbanded near Sixteen Months I should not have had occasion for this address — And tho' it may seem needless from my Vouchers being deliver'd M^r Hutchinson the second Nov^r last, & your having the day following a Copy thereof and several Accounts arising therefrom being since deliver'd — Yet in order the better to demonstrate to all Persons that now are, or hereafter may be Concerned,

¹ These last three words underscored.

² Samuel Winthrop was Clerk of the Superior Court of Judicature.

the unreasonableness of my detention by a Vexatious Suit for Twelve thousand pounds Sterling, I send by the Notary the whole account of my Transactions since I began to make Payment to the Regiment. You'll find Sir, if ever you are Pleas'd to look over 'em that they vary very little from those you have already, and that I have over ballanced all your Demands Fourteen hundred Seventy Six Pounds, Twelve shillings & 5^d¼ Sterling — I have therefore Inclosed another General Account of the Pay due to me on the Regiments Account being Four thousand nine hundred Seventy Three Pounds & eleven pence halfpeny Sterling which I desire you'll be pleas'd to send me by M^r Notary Marion one or more Setts of Bills for on the R^t Hon^{ble} the Paymaster General on Receipt of which I shall give such a Discharge as you think proper without Subjecting myself to your future Demands, as was proposed to be done about the latter End of last October: the Treatment I have since met with has been of sufficient Caution to me, to come into no such Measures

I am with due Respect

Boston Feby 21st 1748.

Your Excellencys

His Excell^y Gov^r Shirley.

Most Obedient & Most humble
Serv^t

S^A WALDO

Copy exam^a p SAM WINTHROP Cler

[Indorsed] 21st Feb^{ry} 1748

Brig^r Waldo Lett^r

filed in Court

N. N^o 2 & O. N^o 2

Mr. UPHAM further said that the following paper, though not found with the preceding documents, appears to have belonged with the same case: —

[Boston Se]pt^r 29th 1747 I Do hereby acknowledge to have agreed with M^r Samuel Annis of Boston, to proceed as a Pilott [with the] army now going against the Indians to Penobscott River and parts adjacent, and do hereby promise to Pay him att the rate of Thirty Pounds, old Ten^r p month for the time he may be on that March or Scout, or such part thereof as his share of the scalps may fall short of that sum, and if his share be more he is to have the full Benefit thereof in lieu of Wages, witness my hand

S^A WALDO

Ent^d

[Indorsed] Samuel Annis £30 — —

No. 6.

There is also on the back what appears to be a signature of "Samuel Annis," probably intended as a receipt.

Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL, JR., communicated a copy of the commission from Queen Anne granting the office of Attorney-General of Massachusetts to Paul Dudley, and said : —

I ask permission to supplement the list of Attorneys-General of Massachusetts which I communicated at our meeting of June 13, 1895, by a copy of the royal commission granting that office to Paul Dudley in 1702. The fact that such a commission was issued is mentioned by our historians, but nowhere, to my knowledge, does its tenor appear in print. In my former communication I made no mention of it, because my purpose then was to notice actual appointments only, and the same year in which this crown commission issued, Dudley took the office by appointment from his father, then governor of the province. That this exercise of the local authority was a concession to popular sentiment seems probable from the circumstance, mentioned in my former paper, that in 1715, upon rumor of the appointment of a new attorney-general by the Crown, the Council concurred with the representatives in choosing Dudley to the office which he had formerly held solely by executive appointment, which choice was consented to by the governor, thus uniting the local legislative and executive authority against foreign interference. It is true that, later, a heated controversy upon the subject ensued between the legislature and the agents of the Crown, — the former affirming its authority to elect, and denying the governor's authority to appoint, and consequently impeaching the regularity of the proceeding upon which the attorney-general's claim to his office for the first fifteen years of his incumbency was based. But although in this controversy the legislature triumphed in the first issue, and for thirteen years continued to fill the office by annual election, the significance of the victory was impaired by the fact that, in order to a valid election, the consent of the governor was necessary and had actually been given in every instance. From 1729, however, when at length the legislature yielded, the governor exercised his power of appointment by and with the advice and consent of the Council; and from that time forth we find no claim made or hinted of the right of the Crown to appoint.

The paper I now submit came to my hands quite recently as one of a series of documents which I am contributing to

the publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, from my gleanings in the Public Record Office in London; and, by permission, I offer it for our printed Proceedings, since it is so closely connected with my former communication alluded to. It is recorded on the patent-roll, 2 Anne, part 2, membrane 1. It is largely in abbreviated Latin, after the style common in early entries of public proceedings in the British archives. To one familiar with those archaic contractions, it is not difficult to render its essential meaning in English. I have therefore prepared a translation, which I submit to be printed with it. Possibly in some instances I may have mistaken the omitted terminal letters intended to indicate number and case; hence I would esteem it a favor, if the translation is accepted by the Committee on Publication, to have a copy of the proof presented to our associate Mr. Haynes for his critical revision.

Regina Omnibus ad quos tē Salūm Sciatis quod Nos pro diversis bonis Causis et Considerationibus Nos ad presens spialiter moveñ Gṛa
 D Coñ Nra spiali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nris Creavimus
 Dudley Ereximis Stabilivimus Constituimus et Ordinavimus Ac p
 Offic p̄sentes pro nobis heredibus et Successorib nris Creamus Eri-
 gimus Stabilimus Constituimus et Ordinamus Officiū Attornat nri Generalis infra Provinciam nram de Massachusetts Bay in New England in America Quod quidem Officiū vocabitur et cognoscetur per Nomen Officii Attornat nri Generalis infra Provinciam nram de Massachusetts Bay in New England in America et ulterius Sciatis qd Nos de fidelitate et Circumspectione Dilecti et fidelis nri Paul Dudley Armigeri plurimum Confideñ Dedimus et Concessimus ac per presentes Damus et Concedimus eidem Paul Dudley p̄dict Officiū Attornat nri Generalis in oibus Curiis Nris de Recordo aut alibi infra Provinciam nram p̄dict Ac ipsum p̄dict Paul Dudley Attornat nrum Generat in oibus Curiis nris de Recordo aut alibi infra Provinciam nram p̄dict Ordinavimus Constituimus et appunctuavimus Ac p p̄sentes Ordinamus Constituimus et appunctuamus Habend et occupand p̄dict Officiū Attornat nri Generalis infra Provinciam p̄dict p̄fat Paul Dudley durante beneficio nro Ac p̄cipiend in et pro Officio illo exercend tañ vad feod Profic Perquisit et regard quañ aliqu alius Attornatus Noster Generat virtute tañ Offic in aliqua Provinciarq sive Plantacon nrarq in America het vel p̄cipit vel de iure here P̄cipere aut gaudere debuit vel debet: Dedimus etiam et Concessimus Ac tenore p̄sentiū Damus et Concedimus p̄fat Paul Dudley plenam potestāt et auctoritat faciend ordinand et deputand tales Clericos et officia sub se ipso in qualibet Cuñ nra infra Provinciam

ñram p̄dict̄ ac in tam amplis modo et forma prout aliquis aī Attornat̄ nostr̄ Generat̄ virtute tat̄ offiċ in aliqua Provinciarq̄ sive Plantaċōñ ñrarq̄ in America facere Ordinare seu Deputare consuetus fuerit vel poterit Proviso tamen et hē ñre ñre Pateñ sunt sub hac condiċōne qđ si p̄fat̄ Paul Dudley non continuaverit et residens erit infra Provinciam p̄dict̄ vel non exequatur officiũ p̄dict̄ in propria p̄sona sua nisi in casu Egritudinis vel aī incapacitatis p̄fat̄ Paul Dudley et durante tat̄ egritudine vel aī incapacitat̄ tantum sine licencia Nra sp̄iali in ea parte prius obtent̄ tunc hē ñre ñre Pateñ et oīa in eisđ content̄ vacue erunt et nullus effectus In cuius rei tē Teste me ip̄a apud Westm̄ vicesimo sēdo die Aprilis

Per b̄re de Privat̄ Sigill̄.

The Queen to all to whom, etc. Greeting. Know ye that we for divers good causes and considerations us to these presents specially moving, of our special grace and of our certain knowledge and Of a grant to Dudley of Office. mere motion have created, erected established constituted and ordained, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do create, erect, establish, constitute and ordain the Office of Our Attorney-General within our Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in America; which said office shall be called and known by the name of the office of Our Attorney-General within our Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England in America. And further know ye that we, being fully confident of the fidelity and circumspection of our beloved and faithful Paul Dudley, Esquire, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant to the same Paul Dudley the aforesaid office of our Attorney-General in all our courts of record, or elsewhere, within our Province aforesaid, and have ordained, constituted and appointed and by these presents do ordain, constitute and appoint him the aforesaid Paul Dudley our Attorney-General in all our Courts of record, or elsewhere, within our Province aforesaid, To have and to occupy the aforesaid office of our Attorney-General within the aforesaid Province, to the said Paul Dudley during our good pleasure and to receive in and for the execution of that office such wages, fees, profits, perquisites and rewards as any other our Attorney-General, by virtue of such office in any of our provinces or plantations in America, has or takes, or of right may or ought to have taken or enjoyed. We have also given and granted, and by the tenor of these presents do give and grant to the said Paul Dudley full power and authority to make ordain and depute such clerks and officers under himself in any our courts within our Province aforesaid, and in as ample a manner and form, as any other our attorney-general, by virtue of such office, in any of our provinces or plantations in America, was wont to, or might, make, ordain or depute; provided, nevertheless, and

these our letters patent are under this condition that if the aforesaid Paul Dudley shall not continue and be resident within our Province aforesaid, or shall not execute the said office in his own proper person, except in case of illness, or other incapacity of the said Paul Dudley, and during such illness or other incapacity only, without our special license in this behalf first obtained, then these our letters patent, and all things in the same contained shall be void and of none effect.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-second day of April,

By writ of Privy Seal.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library since the October meeting.

James Schouler, LL.D., of Boston, was elected a Resident Member, and Joseph H. Choate, LL.D., of New York, a Corresponding Member.

The President then announced that, with the concurrence of the Council, the following assignments of memoirs had been made, — the memoir of Francis A. Walker, to be written by Francis C. Lowell; of George S. Hale, by Arthur B. Ellis; of Edward L. Pierce, by George F. Hoar; of Theodore Lyman, by Alexander Agassiz; of Justin Winsor, by Horace E. Scudder; and of John Amory Lowell, by Charles C. Smith, in place of the late John Lowell, to whom it was originally assigned.

The PRESIDENT then read an address as follows: —

I think, gentlemen, it would not be very wide of the mark, though, as our friend Dr. Green is wont to express it, perhaps not historically accurate, were I to say that an entire year has elapsed since I last had the pleasure of meeting the Society as a body. It is true, returning from Italy at the end of May, I was present and did preside over what appears in our published Proceedings as your June meeting; but such of you as were present on that occasion may remember that the June meeting was held under peculiar conditions, and amid surroundings in no respect sympathetic. That June meeting in fact, I will now admit, came on me like a rude awakening; and as I then looked such of the Society as attended in the face, I felt a disagreeable weight of responsibility. I was conscious of a certain uneasy sense of possible short-coming, not to say even wrong-doing, for

which I not only desired to say a word in extenuation, but, as the record bears evidence, almost instinctively, and in spite of myself, I gave utterance to that word.

When I met the Society at the December meeting a year ago, we assembled in the Dowse Library of our former building, with its cheerful afternoon outlook, towards the western sky, over the King's Chapel burying-ground. We were amid our accustomed surroundings of books and busts and works of art,—in an atmosphere all our own, ours prescriptively, of calm research and lettered ease; a throng of gracious shades and memorable traditions there made their home with us, and were among our most precious possessions. Thus it was when I went away in December. When I came back and again met you, in June, all was changed. I found myself at the head of this bare wooden table, no longer in the prescriptive President's chair,—that was stored away for preservation,—but seated on a machine-made wooden substitute, such as one sees at sea-side hotels and in country bank parlors, while before me were such members of the Society as were present, in other chairs of the same realistic make, doing their very best to look as if they felt at home, were not uncomfortable, and liked their surroundings. Eminently practical, perhaps, these surroundings of the committee-room of the Tremont Building, on the third floor, looking out on Beacon Street, are distinctly unæsthetic, and in no way suggestive of literature and research. In the first place, in lieu of that bright outlook of western sky, I found myself confronted with what I remember Mr. Richard Swiveller well described on a certain memorable occasion as “an excellent view of over the way,”—and such an “over the way,”—that dreary line of red-brick, Beacon Street domestic architecture which it would be grotesque to term a façade,—while the furniture, the gas and steam fittings within, the tinting of the bare walls and ceiling were, as they still are, in complete keeping with the sombre without. Small matter, therefore, was it for surprise, if while on that occasion I mechanically went through the form of presiding, the room seemed to be peopled with ghostly shades of the past,—Winthrop and Deane and Frothingham, Holmes, Lowell, Parkman, Ellis, and Hoar,—gazing down upon me with fixed and stony eyes, which seemed to say,—“Why hast thou

done this thing?" And it was true, — I, even I, had done it! Conscience does make cowards of us all; and so, in my case, too, the native hue of resolution was then and there sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, and, in hesitation and doubt, I asked myself, — After all, was it wise, was it necessary? And so, at once, instinctively, involuntarily, I found myself thrown on the defensive, and in apologetic tone carefully explaining to the Society why and wherefore all this had to be thus. In my own eyes a degenerate descendant, — on that dreary day amid these more dreary surroundings, another Esau, I seemed to have sold the Society's inestimable birthright for what in comparison with it was a mere mess of pottage.

Thus, for me at least, it was a gruesome occasion, that last June meeting. I left it feeling that something had to be done; what, I did not exactly know: but, while possibly the Society might survive several years of successive meetings of a character like that in which I had just taken part, I seriously questioned my own power of so doing. So, I will further confess, it was not without a certain sense of relief I found engagements elsewhere lingering out my absence, and relieving me through the months of October and November from again facing you amid these most uncongenial, — these, in fact, positively congealing surroundings. I now do so, I hope, for the last time. Where our next meeting will be held I cannot yet say, though I hope I may with reasonable confidence assert it will not be here. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences in its origin antedates even the Massachusetts Historical Society, — the relations between the two have always been close, and in the immediate future there is reason to think they will be even closer than heretofore. Not impossibly an arrangement may be made for holding our meetings in future, so long as we are doomed to remain homeless, in the room of the Academy in the Athenæum Building, — itself, I am well aware, not a cheerful resort, but one at least breathing an atmosphere of tradition and research. Meanwhile, I take this occasion to notify the Society that, though our offices will not be changed, the future meetings of the Society will in all probability be held elsewhere. Due notice will of course be given of any other place decided upon; I merely now call attention to what is proposed.

As it is thus practically a twelvemonth since I last occupied

the chair as presiding officer, and this meeting marks also the close of the calendar year, something in the nature of a review of what has taken place in it seems naturally to suggest itself, and to such a review I propose to ask your attention ; for to us at least the year has been an eventful one. And first in importance for us has been that great break in our continuity to which I have already referred. You will remember that in December, a year ago, the sale to the city of our former building, though practically agreed upon, had not been actually effected, and our removal was still matter of uncertainty. The plans of a new building, though carefully studied, had not been fully settled or approved, nor had any scheme yet been devised by which the immediate cost of the proposed building could be brought within such limits as prudence dictated. During my absence in Italy the transfer as well as sale of the Tremont Street building was effected, and the Society found its present temporary quarters ; but, so far as a new and permanent home was concerned, everything was left in abeyance until my return,—a degree of consideration flattering, doubtless, but which, when in June I faced the Society in its temporary quarters, I felt, for reasons I have described, I would cheerfully have foregone. None the less, there are compensations in all things, and it so proved now ; for, as I have already said, one meeting in the Tremont Building committee-room sufficed to convince me that something must be done, and that soon. The rest, as usual, followed :—something was done. Addressing themselves in earnest to the problem before them, the Committee having the matter in charge rapidly disposed of one difficulty after another ; plans were reduced, perfected and approved, estimates made, matters of difference in opinion decided, contracts drawn up and signed, and upon the 8th of July the Society gave its formal authority for the work of construction to begin. Since then no time has been lost ; and it is with genuine gratification — this time in no defensive or apologetic spirit — I find myself able to report that the walls of the Society's new, and we hope for long its permanent, abiding-place are rapidly rising. They are now complete to the windows of the third story ; and should weather conditions prove reasonably favorable, the contractors expect early in the new year to have the outer walls finished and the building covered in. This certainly should be gratifying intelligence to all, for it

is more than, a year ago, we would have thought reasonable to hope ; and to me individually it is especially gratifying in that the lot of Esau is not one we any of us peculiarly affect, and I feel myself able to confront the shades of the departed in a spirit no longer that of the degenerate son. Before passing to other topics I cannot, however, refrain from adding that, architectural effects apart, — and in this respect I confidently believe our new building will prove a marked success, — but apart from architectural effect, the location and outlook of the building could not, in the judgment of all those who have recently visited the spot, well be improved upon, and, for the purposes of this Society, they are, it is not too much to say, the best that Boston affords. There is now every reason to hope that early in the year 1899 the Society will find itself fairly domiciled in its future abiding-place. Our homeless wandering is thus reduced to a period no longer of years, but of months only.

The year has been further marked by two incidents of exceptional historical interest, and especially so to this Society. I refer to the restoration of the Bradford Manuscript and the centennial of the frigate “ Constitution.” It was in the Dowse Library, you will remember, at the October meeting of a year ago, that the project our associate member George F. Hoar had already conceived for bringing about the restoration of the Bradford Manuscript was first informally discussed. It was also in the Dowse Library, in December a year ago, that the matter of the frigate “ Constitution ” was brought up, and that memorial to Congress ordered which was not without its subsequent influence. Absence in Europe prevented my participating personally in either the Bradford Manuscript ceremonies at the State House on the 25th of May, or in the centennial of the “ Constitution ” on the 21st of October. In the month of August last, however, I had occasion to go abroad for the purpose of making some investigations on the part of the Commonwealth, and I was then intrusted by his Excellency Governor Wolcott with the engrossed copy of the Resolve thanking the Bishop of London for his very effective co-operation in bringing about the restoration of Governor Bradford’s Manuscript. As many of you are doubtless aware, the present Bishop of London is the Rev. Mandell Creighton, and his name has for the last ten years been included in our

roll of Corresponding Members. It was the middle of August when I arrived in London, — the season of vacation, during which every one, as the expression goes, is out of town, — there remaining in London only some four or five millions of people who are unable, for one reason or another, to absent themselves; and among the absent was Bishop Creighton. Advised of my coming and errand, he had, however, left a note at the Embassy telling me when he would be back at Fulham Palace, and, as my affairs kept me in Europe longer than I anticipated, I finally, on the evening of the 4th of October, fulfilled my errand by in person handing to Bishop Creighton at Fulham the parchment intrusted to me. I am glad to add that the occasion was agreeably informal.

In this connection I am directed by the Council to call your attention to the fact that, through the death of James Hammond Trumbull, in August last, the number of names on our roll of Honorary Membership has been reduced to nine. It has of late been the tacitly understood policy of the Society to limit its Honorary list to ten in number, and to confine the selection of those upon it mainly to foreigners.¹ Assuming this as the practice of the Society, there is now one vacancy in the list. It is to the present Bishop of London that we owe the return of the Bradford Manuscript, for had he been even passive in the matter no action would have been taken. His active intervention was necessary, and it was forthcoming; for I am able to say that it was he who suggested that intervention of the Consistory Courts through which the desired result was at last brought about. Under these circumstances it must naturally be the wish of the Society in some way to indicate to Bishop Creighton its appreciation of his friendly offices. I am, therefore, instructed by the Council to propose the transfer of the name of the Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton from our Corresponding to our Honorary list; and, should this transfer be ordered, it will afford me great pleasure, in communicating the fact to him, also to let him know that this action is taken by us in recognition of the fact that through his resourceful intervention, after more than a century of loss, her Book of Genesis was restored to Massachusetts.

In the matter of the frigate "Constitution," perhaps it may not be untimely to suggest that, though not allowed actually

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. vii. pp. 332-335; vol. x. pp. 326, 327.

to sink at her moorings, no steps have yet been taken to repair and perpetuate the historic ship. She is still but a hulk. In the memorial of the Society forwarded to Congress a year ago,¹ it was asked that "adequate provision be immediately made for renewing the 'Constitution,' and for hereafter preserving her, . . . and that, like the 'Victory' at Portsmouth, she be then hereafter kept in complete repair, and used as a Naval Museum, open to all." For this provision remains to be made, and that it be made should be the concern of this Society. Surely, if Great Britain preserves the "Victory" as one of her most precious memorials, the United States cannot afford to grudge the money necessary to keep the "Constitution" in repair, as well as afloat. I would suggest, therefore, that the Society instruct the Council again to memorialize Congress on this subject.

Within the year no less than eight names have disappeared from our list of Resident membership, together with two from our Corresponding and one from our Honorary roll, — eleven names out of a total of 161, — an unusual mortality. As the year draws to a close, our Resident list numbers but 91, our Corresponding list 50, our Honorary list 9, — a total of names of the living of only 150. The loss incurred by the Society in these deaths has been great, — for the time being irreparable. General Walker and Mr. Shattuck, it is true, absorbed in other occupations, had rarely taken part in our proceedings, or actively concerned themselves in the affairs of the Society. None the less, the names of both properly belonged on our roll in accordance with our established rules of selection,² — General Walker as a recognized historical student and writer, Mr. Shattuck because of his professional eminence. Mr. Hale's was a face much more often seen at our meetings, and of late years his voice had not infrequently been heard in warm tribute to those of our dead who had preceded him, our obligations to whose memory it had seemed at times almost his special province to emphasize to us. Of Theodore Lyman I can speak as of a familiar, almost a life-long friend. Elected at the November meeting of 1869, he had at the time of his death been a member of the Society for nearly twenty-eight years, and yet I hardly remember to have seen him at our meetings; once only, indeed, do I distinctly recall him as

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. xi. pp. 210, 211.

² Ibid., vol. x. p. 326.

present, and that was over twenty years ago at the memorable special meeting of January 17, 1877, of which I have recorded my recollections.¹ In fact, though a member, and most properly a member, of this Society, Theodore Lyman was not an historian, nor did his mind run in the direction of historical research. Neither, though, under the influence of Agassiz, he applied himself to science, does it seem to me that he had any pronounced scientific aptitude. A man of high character and decided ability, combining a marked intellectual alertness with very considerable powers of application, I am inclined to believe that a political career would have been to him the most congenial; and, moreover, I have no doubt that he would have achieved distinction in public life had he been so fortunate as once to obtain a secure footing in it. This, for reasons useless to dwell upon, was in his case improbable, and certainly never came about; and thus the share he took in politics was a mere episode in his life, an episode which I doubt if he looked back upon with any great degree of satisfaction. There was, however, another episode in his life, — a mere episode, — coming from nothing and leading to nothing, which I fancy he did look back on with deep and continued satisfaction, — I refer to his service at the Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac between August, 1863, and the close of the rebellion in May, 1865. During a portion of that time it was my fortune to be there with him, — indeed it was through his friendly offices that I found myself at Headquarters at all, and for his intervention then in my behalf I have since felt under a great and lasting obligation of gratitude; but, being there with him, I could not fail to notice the skilful use he made of his somewhat anomalous position, — that of an aid of the Governor of Massachusetts on special duty at the headquarters of General Meade, — and the large, intelligent view he took of the situation, of that great drama of war then slowly unfolding itself before him, and of those playing prominent parts in it. He was a keen, discreet observer; and moreover, realizing to the full the importance of what was transpiring, he kept a careful private record of all he saw and heard, — a record still in existence, and which will probably some day see the light. When it does, — perhaps half a century hence, — I do not hesitate now to put on record my belief that it will prove the most

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. x. pp. 315-327.

valuable, as well as the most graphic, of all the inside views of the memorable Virginia campaigns of 1863, 1864, and 1865. It will, I think, be found to equal in interest the famous French memoirs of the Napoleonic wars, of which those of Marbot are the type; for Theodore Lyman, while those great events were in progress, had not only a more central point of observation than the rest of us, combined with better means of information, but he had also a fuller sense of the magnitude of the occasion and of the value of a connected record.

Did time allow, and were the occasion altogether appropriate, I would now gladly go on and indulge in my own reminiscences of those days, and my connection with Theodore Lyman in them. Well do I remember the first time I saw him after he joined the headquarters, when he thoughtfully looked me up in my regimental camp, descending upon me like an unexpected bearer of glad tidings. It was, I think, in September, 1863, — not long after Gettysburg, — and the army was then engaged in some futile movements along the Rapidan. The day before I had, in common with the command to which I belonged, undergone the severest nerve trial to which I remember ever to have been subjected. Through an entire summer afternoon, in mounted ranks, with the enemy in full sight upon the hills just across the narrow river, we had been designedly exposed and made to manœuvre in the open, as a target to draw their artillery fire, and so to develop their position and force. Owing to fortuitous circumstances, our loss was not heavy, but the strain on the nerves had been extremely trying. It seemed as though there must be another Joshua somewhere in the immediate vicinity holding that afternoon sun fixed in the sky, even as that upon Gibeon. And so, as the Confederate batteries practised upon us, apparently “the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down.” Of one shell in particular I retain a vivid memory. It was one of many on that occasion, but, as it came whizzing through the air directly at me, it seemed to speak with a more than usually vicious utterance. It must, I think, have passed within a few feet of my head, for, when immediately afterwards it burst, my eyes were blinded with glare, and my mouth and nostrils choked with smoke, while the trooper nearest me tumbled off his horse, a mere lifeless bundle of clothes and jangling accoutrements. This had all happened one after-

noon ; and the next afternoon I was lying under my shelter-tent in, I remember, a somewhat demoralized condition, pulling, as it were, my shattered nervous system together, while I meditated, a trifle morosely, I suppose, not on "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," but on its actualities, and the vicissitudes in the way of bursting shell and the like which accompanied the same. In the midst of all this I became suddenly aware of the presence of a mounted officer in front of the tent-opening, while a familiar voice called me by name. It was Theodore Lyman, my old friend of college days, and I did not even know he was with the army. His presence that afternoon was to me like fresh water to one sinking under the heat of a desert.

Again, a few weeks afterwards, at the close of chill November, the enemy one afternoon, during the operations at Mine Run, burst into our camp as we were lying in fancied security. How it happened I never quite knew, for I was not on the picket line ; suddenly, however, a few shots were heard, the outposts were driven in upon us, and the bugles rang out, "Boots and Saddle!" At the moment I chanced to be lying on my blankets and overcoat, before a camp-fire, reading. There was no time to pack up or consider one's belongings. It may have taken me thirty seconds to get in my saddle ; and when I found myself in it, the carbine bullets were already singing through the air. It was close work and a complete surprise ; so we were hustled out of our camp, while our friends, the enemy, took temporary possession of it. When, next morning, we returned to it, needless to say, I looked in vain for blankets and overcoat. They were gone, — hopelessly gone, — and I found myself campaigning in Virginia in early December in a thin summer blouse. Very distinctly do I remember the following night and day ; I nearly froze. A week later, — a memorandum made at the time tells me it was on Monday, December 7, — I obtained permission to ride over to Army Headquarters, which chanced to be not far away, hoping at least to get something to eat, — for the enemy on this occasion had made free with larder as well as wardrobe. Going there most woe-begone, in a few hours I returned a happy man. Not only had Theodore Lyman realized the situation, but, attached to Headquarters, it had been in his power to remedy it, and he had done so. My aspect as I

rode home that night to my bivouac was not exactly correct from a military point of view, for I was wrapped in the folds of a large white sleighing-coat of coarse frieze, with a big collar and no sleeves, and carried on my saddle two heavy English blankets; but if, on that occasion, Theodore Lyman did not save my life, he certainly did the next thing to it, he made life for the next few wretched weeks endurable. A friend in need, he was, in that dread Virginia winter, to me a friend indeed; literally he then clothed the naked. The memorandum to which I have referred closes with these significant words, — “Slept warm at last.”

All this was in the time long ago. A whole generation of mankind has since passed away, and Theodore Lyman has now passed on with it. Of the closing years of his life it is needless for me to speak; a sufficient reference was made to them by our associates Messrs. Chase and Lothrop, at the October meeting of the Society. I will only say that through seventeen long years, — from the time he was a man of forty-five onwards to the end, — Theodore Lyman was tried as few men ever are tried, and through that trial the heroism of his nature shone apparent. I have never seen such fortitude, such courage, such uncomplaining patience. His long illness brought out an innate dignity of nature and bearing which but for that few would have been aware of in him; and when death came at last, it came as a release long deferred.

Passing rapidly on, I next come to John Lowell, a man somewhat older than myself, — thirteen years, judged by the standard of college graduation, — but whom I have had the great privilege of knowing since 1856. He was a very rare character, — a character of quality and fineness. It was impossible to meet him without being impressed by a certain kindliness and genuineness, which gave to him an individuality all his own. The most companionable of students and of workers, — modest, considerate, never needlessly aggressive, he carried with him through life the love and sympathy of those who knew him well, and the respect of every one who either knew him or knew of him.

There remain yet three to refer to, the two brothers Pierce and Justin Winsor; and, certainly, it is impossible to mention those names without a realizing sense of the loss the Society has sustained. As our volumes of Proceedings show, and as

we here have reason to know aside from those volumes, Mr. Winsor and Mr. E. L. Pierce were among our most active members, and two of those upon whom we had most right to count for the coming years. Of Mr. Winsor I will merely say that he combined in a greater degree than any other man I know — perhaps I might say than any man I have ever met — the peculiar qualities this Society will some day surely seek to find in an executive officer who shall be at once its secretary, its curator, its librarian, and its editor. Meanwhile, as a member for over twenty years, he had been peculiarly active and efficient; no one was more constant at our meetings; no one more liberally contributed to their interest. Mr. Pierce was a younger member; indeed it would have been well for the Society had he been elected long before he was, for the interest he showed in its welfare was, in his case, the practical side of the satisfaction he did not seek to conceal in his membership. Both Mr. Winsor and Mr. Pierce I had personally known for over forty years; as head of this Society, I had relied on the co-operation of both in effecting those changes and readjustments which the future manifestly has in store for us, and I admit I do not now see from what quarter the gap in our working ranks caused by their disappearance can be made good.

Turning now from this sombre chapter in necrology, — a chapter nearly always with us, a chapter closed only to be reopened, — it will be not uninteresting, I think, to consider briefly the historical aspect of the year, which, for us, the present meeting brings to its close. In the matter of historical work, — contributions to historical study and literature, — I am not aware that the twelve months have been peculiarly fruitful; I should in fact be inclined to say that they had been distinctly barren, for I cannot mention any work produced in them, either at home or abroad, of an especially noticeable character. The list of publications, as it appears in the two Historical Reviews, the English and the American, is long enough, and the work, so far as both finish and research are concerned, is of an order both absolutely high and relatively ever improving; but there is no title or name in the list which at once arrests attention and puts an emphasis upon it. And yet in expressing this opinion I well know the risk I

run, — and, indeed, I not unwillingly run it. I speak subject to correction, and am not without hopes that, as soon as I have finished what I yet have to say, member after member may rise to call attention to some glaring oversight of which I have been guilty. And with a view to thus lending an increased interest to the occasion, and eliciting some expressions of opinion, I will repeat what I have just said, and in more aggressive spirit assert that, so far as I am advised, the year 1897 has, from the point of view of the historical student, been, comparatively speaking, barren and commonplace, having made no striking addition in any language to what we before possessed.

Perhaps the same, or something very like it, might also be said when we turn from letters to action. But, none the less, if during the year the world has witnessed no great catastrophe, it has looked on, not without signs of impatience at the slow movement of events, while two historical episodes of the very first magnitude drew towards an inevitable end. I refer to Turkish rule in Europe, and Spanish rule in America. As a veteran British diplomatist expressed it to me in Rome early in the year, both of these are anachronisms, — both linger interminably on the world's stage; both also began at nearly the same time, for, while Mahomet II. stormed Constantinople on the memorable 29th of May, 1453, Columbus discovered America on the 12th of October, 1492, less than forty years later. Certainly 1858 does not seem very remote to us, yet the years which have elapsed between 1858 and the present time equal in number the years which elapsed between the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the rise of the New World. More than four centuries ago, the curtain lifted; and now, during the year just closing, the two great world-dramas — Ottoman rule in Europe and Spanish rule in America — have seemed drawing together to their finales. I say "seemed" advisedly; for, as respects the Ottoman Empire, I was curiously reminded a short time since of its apparent nearly impending dissolution and its real vitality. I was turning over a rare tract of Cotton Mather's printed here in Boston in 1712 and entitled "The Savior with his Rainbow," and I came across the following:—

"In the next Place, I will freely confess to you, that there is not any One thing at this day a doing, which I have my Eye more upon, than the *Fate*, & I hope, the approaching *Fall* of the *Ottoman Empire*.

There is a Coincidence of more than as many things, to perswade us, That the *Three hundred & ninety odd years* allotted for the *Turks* to be the *Plagues* of the *Roman Empire*, Expired at the late Peace of *Carlowitz*. If that Empire should once fall, what a *Jubilee* would arrive to the poor *Greek Churches*! Oh! Let us Pray more for them. Yea, the *Jews* as well as the *Greeks* would feel a quickening Energy upon it. Now, a mighty shake seems to be giving unto the *Ottoman Empire*. There are millions of Oppressed Christians who begin to see a RAINBOW in that Thing, if God will please to give the Word. If it should be so, that the *Ottoman Empire* be falling, Then, Then, that *Great Trumpet* is going to be blown, which brings on the Kingdoms of this World, to be the *Kingdoms of the Lord*."

Could anything, I would ask, be more curious than the foregoing? That was written and published in Boston one hundred and eighty-five years ago; six generations of men here and in Turkey have since passed away, — been born, lived, and died. Cotton Mather had his "eye" on "the approaching fall of the Ottoman Empire" then, as we have had our eyes riveted on the same promised spectacle during the year now at its close: and it has not come now, as it did not come then! Yet come it surely must; and the immediate successor of the Roman Empire of the East, after at least four centuries and a half of continuous existence, will, probably before the eyes of some at least of us here, be numbered among the things that have been, — a tale that is told.

So also with Spanish rule in America. After a similar four centuries of existence by inscrutable infinite wisdom vouchsafed to it also, it is manifestly nearing its end, — is in its death agony. And, viewed historically, what a singularly discreditable existence it has been, — how very barren of good!

When looking at the vicissitudes of human development, we are apt to assume a certain air of optimism, and take advancement as the law of being, — a thing of course, — indisputable. We are charitable, too; and to deny to any given race or people some degree of use in the economy of Nature or the plan of Creation is usually regarded as indicative of narrowness of view. The fatal, final word "pessimist" is apt to be whispered in connection with the name of one who ventures to suggest a doubt of this phase of the doctrine known as Universalism. And yet is not this part of that unctuous pseudo-philanthropy which is so marked, and, to the observ-

ing man, so unpleasing a characteristic of the day? Except in magnitude of time and space, how do nations and races differ from individual men? We all know perfectly well that the individual does not always tend to improvement, — in no way contributes towards leaving the world in any respect better than he found it, — except, perhaps, by himself being no longer existent in it. So with races and nationalities; it is one of the depressing truths taught by the study of history, that in the tardy process of development progress is the rare exception. Great forces work slowly, and it is only after many disturbances and long-continued vacillations that the world, proceeding always on a curving line, is moved from one position of equilibrium to another. Races remain long in the lowest barbarism; and not infrequently their development is arrested at some more advanced stage and they slowly relapse into a lower. Actual decay alternates with progress, and even true progress implies an admixture of decay; and all the more sombre features of this somewhat stern statement of historical deductions have, I submit, been strikingly exemplified in Spanish rule in America, and is receiving new illustration in what is now taking place, — the last scene of the drama.

Five years ago I read before this Society a paper, incorporated in the eighth volume of its Second Series of Proceedings, entitled "The Spanish Discovery of America." In that paper I ventured to moot the question whether, after all, any benefit had resulted to mankind through the discovery of America by Columbus, acting for Spain. That discovery was, when made, a thing foreordained, — made inevitable by the steady progress of human development. Mankind was ripe for it; it could not long be deferred. That it chanced through the agency of Columbus was merely an accident, but an accident entailing results than which few in the history of mankind have been more lasting or more momentous. Spanish rule over races of Spanish descent and tradition, dominating half the New World, was the first and most striking result, and that rule is only now in its death agony. At the time I remember our associate Judge Chamberlain called my attention to what he referred to as the other side of the picture, making allusion to the presumably indisputable benefits which had flowed, or might be supposed to have flowed, from the introduction into Spanish America of the law and religion of the mother land.

Taken by surprise, at the moment somewhat startled, perhaps, at the breadth of my own generalization as interpreted by him, I remember yielding a ready assent to the proposition Judge Chamberlain advanced. I agreed that there were probably two sides to that picture, of which I had attempted only to portray one.

Since then I have often reflected on the incident, and always with one result. I have regretted that I allowed myself to be taken by surprise, — that I had not been actuated more by the courage of my convictions. I have already to-day thrown out one challenge; I propose now to throw out another. At this time, when, before our eyes, it is breathing its last, I want some one to point out a single good thing in law, or science, or art, or literature, — material, moral, or intellectual, — which has resulted to the race of man upon earth from Spanish domination in America. I have tried to think of one in vain. It certainly has not yielded an immortality, an idea, or a discovery; it has, in fact, been one long record of reaction and retrogression, than which few pages in the great record of mankind have been more discouraging or less fruitful of good. In thus broadly stating this conclusion, I am aware that I subject myself to stinging criticism from those better informed; but, after five years of reflection, that criticism I invoke.

I am also the more impelled to do so at this time, as recently I have been reading a most interesting little biography, entitled "Philip the Second of Spain," written by Mr. Martin A. S. Hume for the "Foreign Statesmen Series," now in course of publication in England. It is something I have long been looking for, — a life of Philip written not in the denunciatory spirit to which we are accustomed, but in one extenuatory, if not apologetic. We are all tired of hearing the wretched Philip abused; and Mr. Hume at last describes him as "a naturally good man," behind whose "icy mask there must have been much that was gentle and loving"; but who, buried in "hereditary gloom," lived "in the unshakable belief that he was in some sort a junior partner with Providence," and so was "cursed with mental obliquity and a lack of due sense of proportion." This may or may not be a correct estimate, but it is certainly a novel one. I do not propose to discuss it here; but as I was running through this excellent little volume, — impartial, erudite, fair in spirit, — I suddenly came across one

passage in which I seemed to be reading of the events and characters of to-day. The writer had been describing the essentially Spanish policy pursued in the Low Countries under the administration of Alva and the Council of Blood, and he goes on as follows :—

“The constant dropping of detraction at last had its effect upon Philip, and he was induced to try a new policy. Alva was allowed to withdraw, with rage at his heart for his failure, which he ascribed to the lack of support from Madrid, and Louis Requesens was sent by the influence of the Ruy Gomez party to endeavor to bring about by conciliation and mildness the pacification which severity had been powerless to effect.”

This extract is from a recently published historical work describing the occurrences of three centuries back ; substitute for the name of Alva that of Weyler, and for the name of Requesens that of Blanco, and for Ruy Gomez, Sagasta, and might the language not be applied equally well to the Cuba of 1897 ?¹

With the Cuba of to-day, as one of the burning questions in connection with our own foreign policy, we here have nothing to do. Not so, however, when it is studied as the original seat of Spanish rule in America, and now as the last relic of that rule. The Queen of the Antilles ! The tree is known by its fruit. What is now taking place in Cuba is historical. It is the dying out of a dominion the influence of which will be

¹ “The cruel policy of concentration was initiated Feb. 16, 1896. The productive districts controlled by the Spanish armies were depopulated. The agricultural inhabitants were herded in and about the garrison towns, their lands laid waste and their dwellings destroyed. This policy the late cabinet of Spain justified as a necessary measure of war and as a means of cutting off supplies from the insurgents. It has utterly failed as a war measure. It was not civilized warfare. It was extermination. . . .

“That the government of Sagasta has entered upon a course from which recession with honor is impossible, can hardly be questioned ; that in the few weeks it has existed it has made earnest of the sincerity of its professions, is undeniable. I shall not impugn its sincerity, nor should impatience be suffered to embarrass it in the task it has undertaken. . . .

“She has recalled the commander whose brutal orders inflamed the American mind and shocked the civilized world. She has modified the horrible order of concentration, and has undertaken to care for the helpless and permit those who desire to resume the cultivation of their fields to do so, and assures them the protection of the Spanish government in their lawful occupations.” — Annual Message of President McKinley to Congress, Dec. 6, 1897.

seen and felt for centuries in the life of two continents ; just as what is taking place in Turkey is the last fierce flickering up of Asiatic rule in Europe, on the very spot where twenty-four centuries ago Asiatic rule in Europe was thought to have been averted forever. The two, Ottoman rule in Europe and Spanish rule in America, now stand at the bar of history ; and, scanning the long four-century record of each, as, in Italy and here at home, I have done repeatedly within myself as the year with its startling developments has rolled away, I have been unable to see what either has contributed to the accumulated possessions of the human race, or why both should not be classed among the many instances of the arrested civilization of a race, developing by degrees an irresistible tendency to retrogression. What good reason can then be given why we should not in such cases speak the truth that is in us, passing upon them among nations the judgment which among individuals we pass upon those who, having been blessed with numerous advantages and afforded frequent opportunities, have squandered the first and neglected the last, leaving behind them at the close of a long life a record which it were excessive charity to characterize as useless, it having in point of fact been positively noxious ? With men it requires generations to overcome the effects of a vicious life and evil practices. With nations or a race centuries scarcely suffice.

On the conclusion of the President's address, it was unanimously voted that the name of the Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, D.D., be transferred from the list of Corresponding Members to the list of Honorary Members.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks : —

I wish to communicate the dates of two early Commencements at Cambridge, derived from contemporary sources, which are additional to the list previously presented by me, and printed in the Proceedings (second series, X. 194-205, 360) for May and November, 1895. The dates are taken from two almanacs in the Watkinson Library at Hartford ; and in both instances they fall on the second Tuesday of August, thus confirming the theory that during this period Commencement came on that day.

1673.

According to an Almanac (Cambridge) for this year, by N. H., — who perhaps was Nehemiah Hobart, the graduate of 1667, — the day fell on Tuesday, August 12.

1677.

According to an Almanac (Cambridge), by J. S., — who was the Reverend John Sherman, third minister of Watertown, — the day came on Tuesday, August 14.

Remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and Messrs. JAMES F. RHODES, HENRY G. DENNY, ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR., A. C. GOODELL, JR., EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and HENRY W. HAYNES.

A new serial number of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the October and November meetings, was ready for delivery at the meeting.

JANUARY MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the President stated that he had received official notice that the Academy of Arts and Sciences had granted the use of their Library room to this Society, for the stated monthly meetings until the completion of the Society's new building.

The Treasurer called the attention of members to the conditions attached to the gift of the late Hon. David Sears, which forms the nucleus of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund, and on his motion, it was unanimously

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund now in the hands of the Treasurer be appropriated to the publication of the Collections of the Society.

Hon. John S. Brayton, LL.D., of Fall River, was elected a Resident Member.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated a diary kept during a part of the Revolutionary War by Amos Farnsworth, of Groton, and said:—

The following Diary, kept by Amos Farnsworth, of Groton, during a part of the Revolutionary War, contains some facts of local interest and historical value. Mr. Farnsworth was one of the Groton minute-men, who marched on the memorable Nineteenth of April to Lexington, where they bivouacked for the night, and the next forenoon pushed on to Cambridge. He was a good type of the Middlesex yeomanry, and by kinship and social intercourse was connected with some of the best families in the neighborhood. His deep religious nature crops out continually through the pages of the Diary, and, as

there seen, shows the spirit which animated him in his opposition to the mother country. In this respect he was a fair representative of the average soldier of those times.

Amos Farnsworth, one of ten children, was a son of Amos and Lydia (Longley) Farnsworth, and was born at Groton, on April 28, 1754. He was a lineal descendant in the third generation from Matthias Farnsworth, one of the earliest settlers of the town. During his youth the facilities for giving a boy in the country a common-school education, as it is now understood, were very limited. In the main a child's elementary instruction was received by the fireside at home, where the three R's were taught; and whatever else he acquired beyond these rudiments was generally given during a few weeks' schooling in the winter. This statement seems to be needed in order to explain the writer's deficiencies in style and spelling, which were no greater than those of the average well-to-do farmer of that period. He was a better fighter than scholar; and during the times that tried men's souls this was a more useful accomplishment than a knowledge of the art of writing or spelling.

On May 7, 1782, Mr. Farnsworth was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Elisha and Elizabeth (Adams) Rockwood, of Groton, who was one of ten children; and they were blessed with four sons and one daughter. He belonged to a race long-lived as well as prolific. At the time of his death, which took place on October 19, 1847, he was aged 93 years, 6 months, and 1 day; and his widow survived him less than two months, as she died on December 11, 1847, aged 90 years, 7 months, and 24 days. At the date of their death each one of this venerable couple was, respectively, the oldest person in town. Of their five children two reached or passed the age of ninety years, and two others the age of eighty years or more, while the fifth child lived well beyond the period allotted by the Psalmist, of threescore years and ten.

The leaders of the American Revolution showed great wisdom in the strict attention paid to the details of their work; and the final success of the military struggle was due as much to their foresight and sagacity in this respect as to the deep feeling of the people. On the side of the patriots the skirmishes of April 19, 1775, were fought by companies made up largely of minute-men, organized on recommendation of the

First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in a Resolve passed at Cambridge on October 26, 1774. At that time it was recommended to the field officers of the various militia regiments that they should enlist at least one-quarter of their respective commands, and form them into companies to be held in readiness, at the shortest notice from the Committee of Safety, to march to the place of rendezvous. Such soldiers soon became known as minute-men; and at the first signal of hostilities they were on hand, armed and equipped, ready for any emergency that they might be called upon to meet. At this critical period of the war, in many ways they proved to be of great help to the popular cause. The existence of such a body of drilled men seems to have been prompted by the usage which had prevailed nearly twenty years before, during the French and Indian War, when there were bands of men, known as "Alarm lists," who were to be ready for military service at a minute's warning. And in their turn these Alarm lists followed the precedent set by the Suffolk and Middlesex regiments, which at the beginning of Philip's War were ordered by the General Court to "be ready to march on a moments warning." For a whole century before the Revolution the Middlesex minute-man had been a prime factor in the County militia.

The news of the advance of the British troops on Lexington and Concord reached the village of Groton early in the morning, when word was sent at once to all parts of the town calling on the minute-men to rally on the Common in front of the Meeting-house. The alarm, probably, was a continuation of the one sent from Charlestown just before midnight, and reached Groton soon after sunrise. There is some reason to think that this intelligence was expected at that particular time, and that messengers were ready to carry it to the outlying homes of the farmers. On April 17 it was voted by the Committees of Safety and of Supplies that the four six-pounders be transported from Concord to Groton, and put under the care of Colonel Oliver Prescott; and on the next day it was also voted that certain ammunition, as well as a large number of tents, and two medicine chests, should be sent there for safe keeping. As open hostilities began so soon afterward, there was probably no time to make the removal. The community was much agitated, and men were thoroughly aroused.

The air was full of rumors, and nobody knew their source. They seemed to come by "grape-vine telegraph," — as the expression was in the army during the War of the Rebellion. It has been asserted in print that the news of the anticipated British advance had reached Groton on the evening of April 18, and that certain men from the town had taken part in the fight at the North Bridge, and together with the minute-men had followed up the retreating enemy toward Boston. Such stories, however, unless borne out by other evidence, are not entitled to much weight. They rest on tradition, which is history on crutches, always an unsafe and uncertain support. Upon the recommendation of the Provincial Congress, two companies of minute-men had been enlisted in Groton. According to a printed sermon preached before them, on February 21, 1775, by the Reverend Samuel Webster, of Temple, New Hampshire, their officers at that time had been already chosen, and while there had been "heats" — as the minister expressed it — in other towns over the choice of officers, there had been none at Groton. Unfortunately, at a later period, "heats," or contentions, over the choice of officers did break out in one of these companies, as appears from an entry in the Diary, on April 26, 1775.

These two companies of minute-men had been expecting the call, and, true to their designation, were ready to march at short notice to the defence of the common cause. On April 19 both companies — one of them under the command of Captain Henry Farwell, and the other under that of Captain Asa Lawrence — rallied on the Common; and late in the forenoon they started for the scene of hostilities, and the same night reached Lexington. The writer of the Diary was a corporal in Captain Farwell's company, and on that eventful day marched with his comrades. In the year 1776, at the defence of Ticonderoga, he served as Ensign in Captain Job Shattuck's company, Colonel Jonathan Reed's regiment. Later, on October 19, 1778, he was commissioned as First Lieutenant in a company of Matrosses, commanded by William Swan, of Groton, in the Sixth Regiment of Militia under Colonel Reed. At the end of the war, on July 9, 1783, he was commissioned as Captain of a company of Matrosses, which is an old name for artillery-men. This company was organized on October 19, 1778, and for a long time was known

as the Groton Artillery. After an existence of nearly a century, for one reason or another, its former prosperity seemed to desert it; and by an order from the Adjutant-General's office, under date of August 15, 1878, the company, together with several others at the same time, was disbanded.

In conclusion I wish to thank Mr. John Prescott Farnsworth (H. C. 1881), of Providence, R. I., the owner of the Diary, for his kind permission to copy it. Mr. Farnsworth is the eldest child of the late Claudius Buchanan Farnsworth (H. C. 1841), the eldest child of Luke Farnsworth, the eldest child of Major Amos Farnsworth, the writer of the Diary.

Amos Farnsworths Journal.

Wednesday morning. April 19. 1775. was Alarmd with the news of the Regulars Firin At Our men At Concoord Marched and Came thare whare Some had Bin ciled Puled on and Came to Lexington whare much hurt was Done to the houses thare by braking glas And Burning Many Houses: but thay was forsed to retret tho thay was more numerous then we And I saw many Ded Regulars by the way. went into a house whare Blud was half over Shoes.

thursday April 20 Came to Cambridge in the fore noon. thare was Some men wanted to go to Charlston I went for one and Vewed the regulars And found thay was intrenching on Charlston hill

Friday April 21 nothing meterial hapned in the fore noon About Sun set marched with the rigiment in Compony with Col Larnards rigiment to Roxbury.

Saterday April 22 Cep^t in mothon. mooved from that hous that we was in to Another this night was Alarmed by the Regulars firing at our gard on the neck turned out And marched towards them but nothing more Eusued Soon turned into our barrocks and Slept quiet.

Sunday April 23. lay Stil in the fore noon in the Afternoon the Regiment to the meeting hous And herd a fine Sermon from Timothy 2. 3 thou therefore Endure Hardness as a good Solder of jesus Christ.

monday April 24 in the forenoon I went round on the Marsh below our Gards within about Sixty rods of the Regulars. this night the Regulars fired at our gard but thare was no larm

Tuesday April 25. lay Stil in the forenoon in the afternoon we went up to the Genarals And Receved ordars and marched to Cambridge Again. oh the goodness of God in Preserving my life from Danger.

April 26. 27. 28. and 29. Days. Was A Strugling with the officers which shold be the hiest In offist Finaly Farwell¹ got ordars to List

¹ For the Muster Roll of Captain Farwell's company of minute-men, as well as that of the consolidated company, see Appendix at the end of the Diary.

And listed Some And then gined with townshind Company And made out A Company. I myself Listed with the rest

Sunday April 30 Retired alone in the morning for Secret Prayer. Preaded the Sun half a Nour hie for Prayers And then About Ten oclock went to a Barn And herd the Re^v M^r Emerson¹ from the first Book of Samuel 30. 6. and Daved was gratly Distressed &c And in the afternoon herd the Re^t M^r Goodridge From those words in judges 20 C 22 & 23 Verses more Porticuly the last Claus in the 23 Varse And the Lord Said go Up Against him. An Exelent Sermon he incoridged us to go And fite for our Land And Contry: Saying we Did not do our Duty if we did not Stand up now.

Mondy May ye 1 in the morning Etended Prayers in the meeting hous Soon was Cawled upon main Gard marched to leachmors Point² stayed thare 24 hours And returned back to the Barn Again Now from Mondy till Saturday night Nothing Meterial hapned. Did my turns of duty And we mooved A Saturday to a hous Oppersit the Collig &c

sunday M 7 Was upon Piquit this Day But got leve to go on the Comon And herd Prayers and Preaching all Day By the Re^t Docter Langdon³ Presedent And the Rt M^r thatcher.⁴ o this was fine Preaching.

Monday tus wedens May 8. 9 & 10 days Etended Prayers Morning And night there was Several gons Discharged about this time Kiled one or two others Escaping narraly Blesed Be God that my life is Preserved

Thursday May ye 11 This Day was By us As a fast And had the opertunity to hear Preaching And was Entertained by the R^t M^r Adam in the Forenoon from Psalms 50 15 this was An Exelent Precher And At night atended A funeral of A Man that died with A wound of A Bawl. For these two Days nothing hapned More then Usal only that two Men Died out fo the Camp: A Saturday the Battalion marched to Charlston to Shoe themselves to the Regulars

Sunday May ye 14 felt Calm And Serious Went to meeten at the Church hous And Herd the R^d M^r Nobol: in the forenoon from Isaiah 59. 1. Behold the lords hand is not Shortned that it Cannot Save &c. And in the Afternoon herd the Same man in the Meeting hous from Exedus 32.C from the Bigining of ye 9 virs to ye end of ye 13. And an Exelent Sermon both forenoon and Afternoon as I Ever I herd: And I was filed with Wonder at the goodness of God in Using means with his People to Reform them. And I Was filed with Anchous

¹ Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Pepperell. See Butler's History of Groton, p. 317.

² Lechmere's Point, in what is now known as East Cambridge.

³ Dr. Samuel Langdon, at that time President of Harvard College.

⁴ Probably the Rev. Joseph Thaxter (H. C. 1768), chaplain of Colonel Prescott's regiment, and afterward settled at Edgartown.

Desires After Holiness And I Resolved Afresh to live and Devote my self more Strictly to Gods service then ever Yit I have Done God Enabel me to keep this Rezerlution

Mondy May ye 15. Nothing hapned to Day more then Usual only At night we was Alarmd with the newe of Regulars which Proved the Grand Rounds that our men Shot At Being Scart.

Tuesday May ye 16 Nothing Done But Our Usual Preadings which Are At Six oclock in the morning And at ten: And at fore At night. and I mounted Piquit at Night And went the Grand Rounds

Wedensday May ye 17 Did But little to Day. At Night A Fier Broke out in Boston And burnt Considerabel Store houses and Bar-rocks And we hear that two Regulars was Burnt And now thursday friday And Saturday Nothing meterial hapned

Sunday May 21 Etended Pray on the Common in the morning After that retired for Secret Prayer. And about ten went to the Chapel And herd the revent Docter Langdon from Hebrews 2 10 for it Became him, &c And he encorridge us to Enlist our Selves under the Great Jeneral of our Salvation: And in the afternoon Went to the Meting hous and herd M^r Havery from Second Chronicles C 15. 14, 15 Varses And thay Sware Unto the Lord with a loud Voice, &c O the Goodnes of god in Promiting me the liberty of Prayer And to hear Preaching. there was many guns herd to Day which we hear was by Regulars going to Waymouth After Some of our Cattle And hay But thay was Defeted By our Men: And thay was mad and fired Along the Shore.

Monday May ye 22 Felt Considerabel calm: Etended Prayers morning And Night: Blesed Be God for Such a Seson

Tuesday May ye 23 Nothing more then Common to Day only at night went a Scout Down to Leachmors Point About three milds from Cambridge: in the morning returned to Cambridge Again. Alas it is A Day of grate trouble and Confusion: Grant Blesed God that I may Consider of my ways And repent And return unto the Lord. And O Blesed God owne me in Jesus Christ.

Wednesday May ye 24 nothing more then Common to Day

thursday May ye 25 Nothing more then the usal Dutys

Friday May ye 26 in the morning I Etended prayers And at night: i hope that I Git good in this Day of grace. At night I and about ten of our Company march^d with A party of men betwixt two and three hundred for Noddels island; heded By Col Nixon¹ we marched throu Mistick Moldin and to Chelsea

Saturday, May ye 27. went on hog island And Brought of Six hoses twentyseven horn^d Cattel And fore hundred And Eleven Sheep about the midel of the afternoon went From hog island to Noddles island

¹ Colonel John Nixon, who commanded a regiment enlisted in Middlesex and Worcester Counties.

and Sot one Hous and Barn on fiar kil^d Some hoses and Cattel Brought of two or thre Cows one horse I with five men got of the horse And Before we got from Noddels island to hog island we was fir^d upon by a Privateear Schooner But we Crost the river and about fiften of us Squated Down in a Ditch on the mash and Stood our ground. And thare Came A Company of Regulars on the marsh on the other side of the river And the Schooner: And we had A hot fiar untill the Regulars retreated. But notwithstanding the Bulets flue very thitch yet thare was not A Man of us kil^d Suerly God has A faver towards us: And He can Save in one Place as well as Another we left the island about Sun-Set and Came to Chelsea: And on Saturday about ten At night March^d, to Winnisimit ferry whare thare was A Schooner and Sloop Afiring with grate fury on us thare But thanks be unto god that gave vs the Victry at this time for throu his Providence the Schooner that Pla^d upon us the day before run Aground and we Sot fiar to hur And Consumed hur thare And the Sloop receved much dammage. in this ingagment we had not A man kild: But fore wounded but we hope all will Recover. one of the fore was A tounsing [Townsend] man belonging to our Company the bullet went throu his mouth from one Cheek to the other. thanks be unto God that so little hurt was Done us when the Bauls Sung like Bees Round our heds.

Sunday May 28 Left Winnisimit ferry About ye middle of ye fore noon And Came to Chelsea And About two in ye afternoon Receved ordars to march and Came to Cambridge, By ye way of Penny ferry.¹

Monday May 29. Etended Prayers At ye Usal times in ye afternoon Etended A funeral A man of our own Company

Tuesday May 30 Etempted to Preforme Some Privit Duties But was Cold And Ded in duty. O that God would make me more livey in his Servis And forgive my Backwardness to Duty. thare was two men Buried to Day out of our Regiment.

Wed^s May ye 31. felt Calme And Serious to Day God enabled me to wat on him three or fore times today in Secret Blesed be God for Such A Ceson. thare was three men belonging to the Armeey Buried to Day

Thursday June ye 1 thare was Sheep And Catel and horses we hear to ye Amount of fore or five hundred Sheep twenty or thurty Cattel And A number of horses brought along that our Peopel took from the Regulars of noddles island. Blesed be God for the interposition of his Provedence on our Side in that He has Delivered into our hands So much of thare goods or Substance And in Saving of us in ye late Battle when in Such Ement Danger Suerly God fote the Battle And not we

¹ Penny Ferry, established in 1640 between Charlestown and Malden.

Friday June ye 2 Felt Lively to Day in Sperital things: Blessed be god for such A Ceson. I was troubled about this time with a Pane in My hed: thare was A Tounshind man Belonging to our Company Buried to Day

Saterday June ye 3 had A Sense of my Dependance on god and Gods right to me. Abought fore in ye afternoon Peraded with the Battallion And Saw two men whipt for Stealing and Another Drom^b out of ye Camps. O what A Pernitious thing it is for A man to Steal And Cheat his feler nabers And how Prevocking is it to God.

Sunday June ye 4 Etended Publect worship And in ye forenoon herd ye Re^d M^r Whitcome from Isaiah: furst Chapter: from ye twentyfirst verse to ye end of ye 24 verse. And in ye afternoon herd ye Re^d M^r Avery: from Stockbridge: who Spoke Exelenty from Job 35 C and 9 10 11 12 13. Oh this is a fine man

Monday and Tusday June 5 And 6th Days Preformed Some Privet Duties But not with Life to ye Degree As I wished for. oh God do not Leve and forsake me Althoe I forsake the on monday my Brother¹ Came and took my Plase And on tusday about noon I Sot out on my jurney for home And Arived about ten at night found my Parance And frinds well. Thanks be unto God that has Preserved our Lives and helth for these Seven weeks: althoe Some of ye time we have bin in Emmment Danger. I was Fil^d with love to God as I Rode Along And Lifted up my Sole to God in Ejackculation Prayers and Prase

Wedensday June ye 7 To Day I Visited my Frinds in ye forenoon oh what A mersifull Father God is. how Stooped And mad must A man be to Continue in an unrenued State in this wonderfull day of Grase.

Thursday June ye 8 In ye afternoon I Etended A Lecter and herd M^r Faxter [Thaxter] from John 15. 8 herein is my father glorified, &c

Friday Saturday and Sunday June 9. 10. 11. days Diferant Exercises of mind these Days

I went to meeten on Sunday And herd ye Re^d M^r Commens: in ye forenoon: from Pauls words: But Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ. And in the afternoon from Some of S Peters words in 1 of Peter 5. 7. Casting all your care upon him: for he careth for you. the Church purtook of the Sacrement to Day: oh that God would Prepare me for Such near Communion with him

Monday Tusday Wedensday And Thursday. June ye 12. 13. 14. 15 days Alas my Backsliding hart: Oh how have I Revolted from the Liven God Alas Alas when I am left of God I Do Soon fall into Sin Oh that God would Glorify his grace in Parding my many-Fold Sin and gilt: Althoe I am A grate And very wicked And Vile one

on wedensday I Took Leve of Frinds And Rode to Cambridge And my Brother [Benjamin]¹ Came home

¹ Benjamin Farnsworth, whose death by drowning is mentioned under date of December 5.

Friday june. 16. Nothing Done in ye forenoon in the afternoon we had orders to be redy to march At Six Agreeable to Orders our Regiment Preadid and about Sun-set we was Drawn up and herd Prayers: And about Dusk Marched for Bunkers hill; under Command of our own Co! Prescott. jest before we turned out of ye rode to go up Bunkers-hill; Charlestown we was halted; And about Sixty men was taken out of our battallion to go into Charlestown; I being one of them: Capt Nutten¹ heded us Down to ye town house; we Sot our Centres by y^e waterside; the most of us got in the town house But had orders not to Shut our eyes Our Men marched to Bunker-Hill And begun thair intrenchment And Careed it on with the utmost Viger all Night, Early in the Morning I joined them

Saturday June y^e 17. the Enemy appeared to be much Alarmed on Saturday Morning when thay discovered Our operations and immediately began a heavy Cannonading from a batery on Corps-Hill Boston and from the Ships in y^e Harbour. we with little loss Continued to Carry on our works till 1 o'Clock when we Discovered a large Body of the Enemy Crossing Charles-River from Boston. thay landed on a Point of land about a Mile Eastward of our Intrenchment And immediately disposed thair army for an attack previous to which thay Set fire to the town of Charlestown. It is supposed that the Enemy intended to attack us under the Cover of the Smoke from the burning Houses, the Wind favouring them in Such a Design; While on the other side their Army was extending Northward towards Mistick-River with an apparant Design of surrounding our Men in the Works, And of cutting of any Assistance intended for our Relief. thay ware however in some Measure, counteracted in this Design, and Drew their Army into closer Order. As the Enemy approached, Our men was not only Exposed to the Attack of a very numerous Musketry but to the heavy Fire of the Battery on Corps-Hill, 4 or 5 Men of War, Several Armed Boats or Floating Batteries in Mistick-River, and a number of Field pieces. Notwithstanding we within the intrenchment, and at a Breast Work without, sustained the Enemy's Attacks with [g]reat Bravery and Resolution, kiled and wounded great Numbers, and repulsed them several times; and after bearing, for about 2 Hours, as severe and heavy a Fire as perhaps ever was known, and many having fired away all their Ammunition, and having no Reinforcement: althoe thare was a great Boddy of Men nie By: we ware over-powered by Numbers and obliged to leave the Intrenchment retreating about Sunset, to a small Distance over Charlestown Neck. N. B. I Did not leave the Intrenchment utill the Enemy got in I then Retreated ten or Fifteen rods, then I received a wound in my rite arm the bawl gowing through a little below my Elbow breaking the little

¹ Captain John Nutting, who commanded the Pepperell company of minute-men.

shel Bone Another bawl struk my Back taking of a piece of Skin about as big as a Penny But I got to Cambridge that night. the Town of Charlestown supposed to contain about 300 Dwelling-Houses, a great Number of which ware large and elegant, besides 150 or 200 other Buildings, are almost all laid in ashes by the Barbarity and wanton Cruelty of that infernal Villain Thomas Gage

Oh the goodness of God in Preserving my life Althoe thay fell on my Right hand and on my left: O may this act of Deliverance of thine oh God lead me never to Distrust the, but may I Ever trust in the and put Confodence in no Arm of flesh. I was in great Pane the first Night with my wound

Sunday June 18 I and Phinias Hobord¹ Came to M^r Watsons

on *Monday June 19* M^r Hobord and I Sat out for Home Came as far as Lincol, met our Honored fathers Got as far as Concord that night

Tuesday June 20. we got home

Now for a Considerable time Pas I Could not keep my Jornal for my wound in my Arme But Now I begin to Rite a little

Monday Augus 14th Sot out For Cambridge Got thare that Day; found our Company perty well:

Now from monday to Saterdag nigth Nothing hapned worth noteis

Lords Day August 20th in the morning I Etended prayers about 10 We went And herd the Re^t Doct^r Langdon on the Common From S Luke 7 Cha^t from the 36 Varce to the end of the Chapter And in the afternoon from S John 7.17. Hee spoke Excellently from the words

Monday August the 21 Nothing meterial

Tuesday. Wedensday august 22. 23. Days Only our Usal Dutes. I went to Watertown to see M^r Devens, About Some Cast but Could not Git it

Thursday August th 24 Etended prayers as usal: About twelve Oclock I had my arme Dres^t And Docter Hart Opened it nigh 2 Inches Down to the Bone: About 3 in the afternoon Co^l Prescott Gave orders to March to Sewels² Pinte and thay marched But I Did not Go with them beause of my wound

Friday Saterdag August 25. 26. Days A little Firing from the Enemies works to Day But Did but little hurt

Lords Day august 27th Etended Meeten and herd the Revent D^r Langdon from furst of Luke 74. 75. Varces: in the forenoon he Shew, our Nattural Depraveity and Enmety to God and Gods way whilst in our unrenewed Estate: in the afternoon Shew us that we Should Sarv him in holiness and fear. O that I might Practis accordingly

We was alam^d several times to day: by reson of our Men Begining to

¹ A son of Nathan and Mary (Patterson) Hubbard, of Groton, who was a sergeant in Captain Farwell's company.

² Sewall's Point is in that part of Brookline now known as Longwood.

intrench on Ploud Hill¹: there was Considerable firing we had 2 Men kiled and 2 wounded: our People Sunk one of the Enemies Floting Batteris

Munday and Tusday August 28. 29. Sum Firing these days one of our men was kil^d by the floting Batteries in Mistick River tusday night one of the Riful Men was buried under armes Church way: with great decency and Solemnety

Wedenday Thursday August 30. 31. Days the Enemy has Bin a Cannonading and Buming of us: But du little hurt: Thanks be to God for any tokens for good I found a young Gentleman that I Could Freely Convers with on Sperital things I find God has a Remnant in this Depraved and Degenarated and gloomy time

Friday and Saturday September 1. 2. Days Nothing Strange hapned these Days

Lords day Sept: 3 Etended Prayers and Preaching in the fore Noon the Revent M^r Lenard from Deuteronomy 20. 1, 2, 3, 4. In the Afternoon a Gentleman unknowen by me spoke from Esther 9. 1, 2.

Munday Sept: 4 Sum firing to Day

Now from the forth Day to the Seventeth Day nothing of Great Consequence hapned in the Armeý we Carried on our works on Ploud hil with great sped

Lords Day Sept: the 17 Etend^d meeten And heard the Re^t M^r Lenard from jeremiah 15. 16. Thy words ware found and I Did eat them, &c he spoke Excelenty And the Church Purtook of the Sacrament in the forenoon oh that I was made alive unto God and Prepared for such near Communion with Christ in the Afternoon the rev D^r Langdon Preach^t from Revelation 21. 3. Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will Dwell with them, and thay Shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. this was good Preaching

From Sabarday 17 D to Sabarday 24 Day of Sep^t Nothing of Consequence hapned only the enemy fired Sume And wounded 2 or 3 men.

Lords Day Sep^t 24. Etended Prayars half after 6 in the morning: and Preaching at 10 oclock, — D^r Langdon Preached in the forenoon from 1 of Peter 5. 10. 11. In the afternoon R^t D^r Appilton² a good old Minister in his 81 or 2 year of his Age he took his Text out of 1 of Timothy. 6. 12. Fight the good fight of faith, Lay hold on eternal life.

Monday: sep^t 25th one man was whip^d and Drummed out for Stealing: he was a bold and unshamefasced wrech. o that men was wise thet thay understood that thay would Consider on thare latter End

¹ Ploughed Hill, known later as Mount Benedict, stood in that part of Charlestown which afterward was Somerville. In very recent times it has been levelled to the ground.

² Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, D.D., minister of Cambridge.

Tuesday and Wednesday Sept: 26. 27. Days our men went from Roxbury And Took from Gage 12 Cattle and 2 horses And Burnt a Bulding

Thurs^d Friday Sept: 28. 29. d Nothing worth notes

Saterday Sept: 30th One of our Regi^t was Buried: And one Man Belonging to Cambridge was taken Poorly of a Sudden and Died Amediately Alas upon what a Slender thread do our lives hang on; yet we are as Carles as thoe we was to live always.

Lords Day october 1th I her^d the Re^t D^r Appleton he Preach^d again from 1 timothy 6. 12: He Shew what Putting on the hole Armer of God was in its Several Peaces of armer. having our lius gurt about with truth: And having on the brest plate of Righteousness and your feet shod with the Preparation of Peace: Above all taking the Sheld of faith wharewith ye shall be able to Quench all the fiery Darts of the wicked and take the helmet of Salvation and the Sword of the Spirit which is the word of God Praying always with all Prayer And Supplication in the spirit. Ephesians 6 C. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. in the afternoon her^d the Re^t M^r Lennard from Isaiah 40. 28. . Nothing of Consequence hapned from the Furst of Oct: to the end of the Seveneth Day Only A number of boats are Making: and Sum Cannaiding from Boston neck But did but little hurt

Lords Day Oct: 8th I herd the Revent M^r Lennard From Isaiah 30. 18; he is a God of Judgment: Blessed, are all thay that Wait on him And in the afternoon A Gentleman Unknown to me: From S^t Matthew V.^c. 5.^v. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth

Munday Oct: 9th the Carpenter are Giting Timber and Fraiming Barraks as fast as thay Can by the generals order

Tuesday Wednesday Thursday and Friday Oct: 10. 11. 12. 13 Days The Arme^y lies without much Bisnis Carried on only Bulding Barrocks and fortifying a little: we Act in the Defensive more than Affensive

Saterday Oct: 14th Nothing of Consequence

Lords Day Oct: 15th Her^d R^t M^r Lenard in the forenoon From Psalms 48. 8. God will establish it for ever in the afternoon a Stranger to me Precht From Naham 1. 7. the Lord is Good, a Strong hold in the Day of trouble and he knoweth them that trust in him. he Treated upon the Power And goodness of God he Sed his Power Shone Conspicuous in the Creation: and in Saving and leading the Childrin of Israel through the Sea and wilderness Saving the three from the Rage of the fire &c

Monday Oct: 16th Nothing more then Common

Tuesday Oct: 17th Our People Went this evening with two Floating Batteryes Down Cambridge River to fire on Boston: thay went within About A Mile and half: fired Sum time, when one of thare Cannon Split: wounded Eight Men whareof One Died. O the Sad Effect of wor: when will the time Com when we need larn war No more

Wednesday Oct. 18th Nothing Material: my Honoured Father Came Down to See me and the army

Thursday Oct. 19th and Friday Oct. 20th A Great talk of more troops being Sent to Boston But our Men ant Scart at trifels. I would to God that our People had as good Courage in the Speritual warfare as thay have in the Temporal one

Now from Oct. Friday 20th to thursday 26. of great noteis

friday Oct. 27 I got a Furlow and Rode home to groton I was Not very well when I left Cambridge and when I came home the Docter Said I had the Camp Fever which verily Apered and was true.

Saturday Dec. 2^d I left my Jurnal at Cambridge that I could not keep it for Six Weeks I have bin unwell all this time and am Still so. Alas I have bin Ded the most of this time to Speritual things oh that God would quicken me by his grace

Lords Day Dec. 3rd I Stay^d at home all Day I have such a Hed-ake that I Cannot Read but Very little, I feel for the most Part very ded and dul in Relguon at this time.

Monday Dec. 4th Nothing of Consequence

Tuesday Dec. 5th I Rode in the forenoon to the Docters returned about Noon; my Father and Brother Benj^a went Down to Nashaway-River to Cross the Same. by Some meens the Canoe Sunk and God in his hoïy and Riteous Provedence Suffered them both to Drowned O! how Awfull is Death Espesually when it is sent in such a sudden and Suppriseing Mannar. But when I Consider it is the Hand of God I must and Desire to be Resined to Gods will: oh grant blessed God to thy Sarvant that I may make a wise and Religous improvement of every Dispensacion of thy Providences

Wednesday Dec. 6th our frinds and Naighbors all Day Sarched the River and found my Brother

Thursday Friday Saturday and Lords-Day Dec. 7. 8. 9. and 10th Days People Sarch^d for the Body of my Father but found it not

Monday Dec. 11. the Funeral was and the R^t M^r Bigalow was sent for he Prayed with us

Tuesday Dec. 12th I hope was a good Day to my Sole at Night I Prayed in the famerly and God seemed to give me boldness to the Throne of grace

Wednesday dec. 13th God has of late frouned on our Enemies and Given into our hands much warlike stors: And at Newfoundland the Kings Fishermen Amounting to more then 4000 Men Was Lost in a mighty Storm on the 9th of September. And two Vessels was struck with Lightining Belonging to our Enemies.

Thursday Dec. 14th O how Marvelously good is God to me in keeping me from the Flames of Hell and Death When the arrers of Death and of Gods rath flies so thick.

Friday Dec^r 15th Alas what a backward Hart have I and how Slothfull that, before I am aware My Hart is Sat on the things of this world and Deceives me.

Saturday Dec^r 16th O ym dulness to Duty oh that I did take more delite in the ways of Godliness: Quicken me oh God of thy own mear good Pleasure because I am dul of understanding.

Lords-day Dec^r 17th I went to Gods Houss in the afternoon and heard the Rev. M^r Biggalow from S. Matthew 24. 44.th Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as you think not, the Son of man cometh.

Monday Tuesday and Wednesday Dec^r 18. 19. 20th days. our westorn Forses are very Sucsesfull in Subdueing our forron and Domistick enemies: Providence seems to faver us, O that we might Eye the hand from whence Comes all our Help.

Thirsday Dec^r 21st O my backwardnes to Duty; oh bring me out of my Self and may I see the Necessity of Putting of the old man With his Deeds and of Putting on the New.

Friday Dec^r 22^d Lord thou hast I acknowledge bin good and rought out our Deliverance from time to time Thou didest Plant us hear in this good land and thy Right hand hath saved us ever since But Alas what a bad improvement have we made of these things

Saturday Dec^r 23^d And now o Lord we are in troble Boston is a seat whare our Unnatteral Enemyes are in Prosession: the People of the Town of Boston that are our frinds have bin forsted to leave the town or be shut up and Confined thare amoungst our foes And alas o God we have Sined as a Continant we have Sined as A Provence we have sined as Connected with a town and a Famerlyes and Privets: But oh God do not Cast of this thy Land that thou hast garded so long

Lords-day Dec^r 24th felt two Dul in duty: good God take away this acused hard Hard of mine and give me a soft Hart one that may be esely Impressed upon by thy word

Monday Tuesday, 25, 26th of Dec^r I fell dull in Duty and yet I dont se my sin so as to follar it as I ought: I am a great sinner yet I Dont se my Sin aright.

Wednesday Dec^r 27th Two Carles in watching over my Conduct for I git into the world and Depart from God.

Thirsday Dec^r 28th Lord I find it a hard Peace of work to deny myself oh that thou Lord would make it more easey by granting thy Holey speret to thy unworthy servant.

Friday Dec^r 29th I Thought on a life of Religion; But with two much Coldness

Saturday and Lords-day Dec^r 30, 31th Alas what gloomy time is this to my Sole; oh that God would Cause light to arise out of the midst of darkness and Shuew to me his Salvation

Monday and Tuesday January 1, 2^d Days, Being the year of our Lord Christ 1776. oh How unprofitable have I bin this Year Past in the Servis of God.

Wednesday Jan^y 3th oh that I might live more nigh to God for the time to come: For I se that mortals must dy: This Day Aunt Longley¹ of Shierly was buried. And another Woman of the same Town was at hur work: Instantly fell Down and died in an Hours time; grant blessed God that I may not Loose the improovment of these Despenations of Devine Providence, But may my Sole be filed with Admiration for thy Distinguishing goodness to me.

Thursday Friday Jan^y 4. 5th Alas what a sinner I am, my sins are of the blackest Die alas thay are inhanst because when I had akened in some Degree to a sence of my duty I have fell into Carnal Security again: Oh will the Lord help me out of the Deep mier in which I am fallen

Saturday and Lords-day January, 6. 7 two dul in duty: I went to Meeten all Lords-day and hear^d the Rev. M^r Biggalow from, S, John 3. 16. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begoton Son, &c. he shue the Method of Salvation by Christ Jesus.

Monday Tuesday Jan^y 8. 9. I am unworthy of a plase in the world: it is a wonder of the Lord's mercy that I am not Consumeed.

Wednesday Jan^y 10th alas the degeneracy of the times

Since Godly men deca O Lord,

do thou my cause dend:

For scarce these wretched times aford,

one jest and faithfull frend.

[*Some pages of the Diary here missing.*]

Monday Tuesday Febr^y 19. 20th [1776] Alas the Divel has great hold of me I am under his laws and am secure

Wednesday Thursday Feb^y 21. 22. How have I got into the world o Lord keep me from the sin of the world

Friday Saterday 23 24th Feb^y I indulge Security and am blind

Lords-day Feb^y 25th Went to Meeten and herd Rev. M^r Emerson of Concord from Isaiah in forenoon 3 Chap. 10. 11 Verses Say ye to the righteous that it shall be well with him: Wo unto the wicked it shall be ill with him; Afternoon from S Luke 18. 7. And shall not God avenge his own elect, which Cry day and night unto him, though he bare long with them? felt dul in duty: I Pray God grant that by the Preaching of this Worthey Man I may be stired up to my duty and to a holy walk with God

Monday Tuesday Feb^y 26. 27th Security and backwardness to duty

Wednesday Feb^y 28 I went to a funeral of Dec[on] Colyars

¹ The wife of William Longley, of Shirley, who was Mary, eldest child of Joseph and Abigail (Sawtell) Parker, of Groton.

Thursday Feb^y 29 Security

Friday March y^e 1st I went to se Abigail Stone¹ who was very sick She was in great concern about her sole

Saturday and Lords-day March 2. 3^d I have two much cause to lament my Past life I went to meeten herd Rev. m^r Bigelow forenoon 2 Corinhians 4. 18. While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal. he set forth the Excelency of things unseen to things seen: Afternoon from Psalms 16. 11 in thy presence is foolness of Joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures forevermore.

Monday Tuesday March 4. 5th oh Lord lift me out of the Pit of Security: and save me for I am a sinner

Wednesday March, 6, I her^d that Father was found near Pepperil Bridge. I took my hors and rode there; and found that he had bin seen on the top of the water near shore but was not stoped: I Pray God grant that His body may be found If Consistant with thy will for it is a living sorrow But why should I be so anxious about the body when the sole is gon to its place. oh that I was more Anxious to secure the immortal part which nither Dies nor decays.

Thursday March 7th was sot apart for Fasting and prayer: but we had no Preaching: I was at the fun of m^r Dodges Child, Decon [James] Stone made the Prayer?

Friday March 8th Show to me my security O Lord most High?

Saturday Ma^h 9th I with two or three others sot out in order to go down by the side of Nashawa River to the mouth of the same we got to the lower bridge then left the river: being dark, for lodging: Part of us stayed at Esq^r Lovels I and Brother Holden² went further to William Luns

Sabbath-day Mr^h 10th went quit to the mouth of the river then back for home Came to Holis: Betwixt Longleys Island and Jacho Mill³ about a Mile below s^d Mill there we found the Bodey that we was looking after took out the same and Brot it home

Monday March 11th the funeral was set and M^r Bigelow Came and went to Prayer: oh that I might think on his words and be ready for a suden Chang?

For the most of this Week I was thoughtless and Blind; and have not don my duty: and I never shall if god does not help; and Quicken me and oh Lord Put within me a right Hart and temper of mind?

¹ A daughter of Deacon James and Mary (Farwell) Stone, born on December 2, 1736.

² Jabez Holden, who married Rachel Farnsworth, an elder sister of the diarist.

³ Longley's Island is probably the island near the mouth of a small brook, in what is now Nashua, N. H.; and "Jacho's Mill" is the same as Jaquith's, later known as Runnells's, in Hollis, N. H.

Lords Day March 17th I her^d the Rev^t M^r Bigelow from James 2. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18th He inceded most on the 18 verse: he sed a ded faith without works is ded? this day y^e British troops left Boston

March Monday 18th I am Exercised with an exceeding Hedake: o the troubls of this life. Yisterday the British Troops left Boston

Tuesday Wednesday March 19, 20th Alas I have not the Presence of God Good God Help me to discern my Blindness and Dedness in matters of Religion

Thursday Friday March 21, 22nd Coldness in duty

Saturday March 23^d I went to see Abigail Stone who was sick and very low: Prayed with hur But was Two Cold and lifeless; oh warm my Hart Blesed God; and may I be more Earnest in Beging for mercy?

Sabbath-day March 24th Her^d Rev^t M^r Bigelow forenoon Philippians, 2, 5 Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus; Afternoon Psalms 44 the six first Verses. We have heerd with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old. &c He sed that our fathers Coming hear being in the Year 1620 on the 11 of December; was similer in many instances to that of God bringing his Ancant People the Jews into Canan, out of Egypt: for he has sufered no Enimy to Destroy us: for when France Sent a

[Some pages here missing.]

I went to meeten and heerd Rev^t M^r Daniel Emerson [of Hollis, N. H.] From 1 Corinthians 11. 26 For as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this Cup ye do shew the Lords death til he come The Church of Christ in this Place Purtook of the Sacrament O that I had Grace to fit me for such near approach to Christ at his Table But now I turn my back But as I turn Such Thoughts as these sugest to my mind; Ah thou ungratefull retch to slight the ordiance of the Supper see my Children feed there Sols Richly: whilst thine is a Starveing: Wouldest thou not pay more regard to the last words of a Dear and dying frind if by so doing you would Reep so much advantage as you might by this ordiance. As I walked out with what shame did I skulk for Rev, m^r Emerson spoke Close to those that turn thare backs

Lords-day May 5 [1776] I her^d Rev^t M^r Adams from Romans 12. 11 Not slothfull in business A meen Sermon afternoon M^r Whitmore from Mathew 6. 10 Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven, he Spoke little better

Thursday May 9th was sot Apart by the Town for fasting and Prayer that God would be Plesed to send Us a man for a teacher that will be faithfull Over the flock Rev. M^r Whitney of Shirley Preached

in the forenoon from Colossians, 1. 7 Afternoon Rev^t M^r Emerson from S Luke 10. 2 Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth labourers into his Harvest this was preaching he had no nots oh that I might treasher up the truths

Lords-day May 12 went to meeten in the afternoon her^d M^r Bigelow from Ecclesiastes 9. 10 felt Cold and dul in duty

My Brother Jonas Came hom from Mechias [Maine.]

Friday May 17th this day was sot Apart by the Grand Congras as a day of fasting and Prayer throughout the Continent I went to meten and herd Rev, M^r B. from 2 Chronicles 20 from the fifth to the thirteenth Verse: But O Coldness in duty Help good Lord and forgive

Sabboth day May 26 oh dedness in duty I went to Meten herd M^r Fisk forenoon from Psalms 4th 6 Afternoon Mathew 22. 5 But they made light of it A Smart Young Precher

Lords-day. June 2 I went to meeten herd R[ev.] M^r B. from 1 Corinthians 10. 31. Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do do all to the glory of God was sleepey and dul in the forenoon O that I was more lively in duty: But Alas Coldness in maters of Religion

Monday June 17th on this day of the month was Charlestown fight a year ago I was wounded by our

[A part of the Diary here missing.]

Groton March 20th 1778 I being prest with a sence of my Duty in Coming to the Lords table and being Convinced that it was my Duty: it being an absolute Command of my dying Saviour I went to our Paster the Rev. Daniel Chapplin¹ to offer myself to the Communion But Alas what oppertions did I meet with from the Divil and my Corrupt and wicked Hart to that degree that I had thots of turning back but Considering how unsoldierlike it was to turn the back I went forward. and I was I hope in some Mesure anabled to lay open my Hart and desire to him and he Delt faithfully & kindly with me

22 Lords day I was Propounded for Communion now for this week my mind was diferantly Exercised Some times A glimpse of hope and other times overwhelm^d with fear

29 Lds was afected with the Preching

April 1 Wednesday herd a lecturer by Rev. Daniel Emerson from Zepheniah 3. 17 he will rest in his live

Thursday April 2nd Etended our Privit Meeten But was dull in duty oh God Parden and forgive

3 fr was Meloncoly

¹ Rev. Daniel Chaplin (H. C. 1772), at this time the settled minister of Groton. He and Mr. Bigelow, previously mentioned, — whom I am unable to identify, — had both been preaching on invitation of the town as candidates for the vacancy caused by the resignation of Rev. Mr. Dana.

4 *S.* I hope I enjoyed some of the Presence of God: O God make me thankfull

5 *Lds.* I went to Meetin & herd y^e Rev. M^r Chapplin from Luke 14. 17th Come for all things are Now ready I was Admited to Join with the Church of Christ in this place: and O how did I long to love God, and do my duty and live up to my Sacramental Engagements O God I beg that thou wood Increase my faith & love & Repentance and obedance and O God may I never fall into Security and it was Communion day &c and we was Entertained in the afternoon from Romans

4. 16 Therefore it in [is] of faith that it might be by Grace

6 *M^d* injoyed Some freedom in famerly Duty thanks be to God

7 *Tu* O God grant Me thy quickening Spirit & O may I prase and love the

8 *We*, I herd d^r Parker¹ an Anabaptis preacher he spoke from Exodus 17th 6 and thou shalt smite the Rock &c

9 *Th*, I am two luke warm: O Lord Shoe to me my true State & Condition and if there is any Sin that I have never Repented of Discover it unto me & give me repentance and O God give me a true hatred of Sin and a Grater love to Religon.

10 *Fr*, dull in Religon & Stuped

11 *Sa*, had Som sence of Sin; & I was a plowing, and these words Came often to my mind, and the Plowing of the Wicked is Sin: now thinks I it may be I am sining in Every furrow I turn and if that is the Case what a load of Sin and gilt awaits me. But O God if I am a wicked Man in the sence of the words wilt thou discover unto me my Sin and O God wilt thou Give me Repentance and sarch me O God Shoe me the Plage of my Hart

12 *Ld*, I Heard M^r Thatcher. Lord Make me to know my duty and give me love and faith

13 *M, d*, O security, and dulness, and slothfullness to duty oh may I see my self and Repent.

14 *Tu*, O Lord may I grow in Grace and in the knowledge of the truth & O Lord may my Coruptions be Subdued.

15. 16. *W, Th*, my mind was sumthing Composed I went to Privit meetin on Th we Red a sermon of M^r Davis, oh Jeruselim Jerusalem who kileth the Profets and stoneth them that are sent unto you how often would I have gathered you together as a hen gathereth hur Chickings under hur wings and you would not.

17 *F*, I feal Cold and dul & feal I want a sence of the love of God &c

18 *S*, Lord lift upon me the light of thy Countance and be my God

19 *L, d*, went to Meetin M^r Chaplain Preached in the forenoon from

¹ Dr. Isaiah Parker, who two months later, on June 10, was ordained at Harvard.

S^t Mathew 10.th 33. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven. Afternoon Luke 14. 22. And the servant said Lord it is dun as thou hast Comanded and yet there is room. oh the hardness of my hart that I cant Moorn more for Sin. But I moorn that I Cant moorn and (desire to) Pray that I might moorn, and may I be thankfull that I Can see myself in any degree

20 *M*, I seemed to be presed to secret duty by my Consiance, but felt a strange backwardness O that I did love Religion.

[*Some pages here missing.*]

5, 6, 7 [*May*, 1778,] *T, W, Th*, had some asistance in Prayer for which I desire to be thankfull: but am two lukewarm and Dull and lifeliss in Duty

8, 9 *F, S*, on *F* went to a funeral of M^r William Grean's ¹ but was dul when the duty of Prayer was Proformed: in the Evening love was somewhat in Exercise by Conversing with Christions friends oh that I was thankfull for favors Resieaved and that I did live near to God & in the way fo my duty

10 *L, d* M^r Chaplain Preached at Shirley and I heard him from Revelation 22. 17. And whosoever will let him take the water of life freely afternoon from Amos 4. 12. &c but althoe the Preeching was powerfull yet in the afternoon I was dul and Cold oh that God wood warm me with his spirit Even me who am a ded dog and oh forgive forgive and power out thy Sperit and quicken me by thy divine Grase and shed abroad thy love in My Soal in the Evening was Melted with a Sence of my hard hart & was led to join with D^r Wats

Dear Saviour, Steep this rock of mine in thine own crimson sea!

Noone but a bath of blood divine can melt this flint away.

17 *L d*, during the last week I was much tempted to Sin and to backslide from God & was in a Cold frame for the most part I went to a privit meeten & Church meeten this day I heard M^r Chapplin from Luke 10. 42 But one thing is needfull; and Mary hath Choson that Good part &c Afternoon Colossians 3. 2. Set your affections on things above &c Alas I git from God my guide and so am tempted by the Divil and my wicked hart to Sin of the blackest nature

18, 19 *M, T*, oh how am I Urged on to Sin by the flesh and the Divil: oh Lord subdue my Corruptions and may I see more of the plage of my own hart & hate Sin with a perfect hatred and turn to the Lord who will pardon

Now for the remainder of this Week I was Exersised with temptasion to Sin and was foild by Saton and fell into great sin; for it was

¹ According to his epitaph, William Green died on May 7, 1778, in the eightieth year of his age.

my Constitutinal sin : & I thought I had got the victory over it and was of my guard But oh the blackness of my Crime it being comited deliberately and knowingly how do I deserve Hell and misery & Eyerlasting banishment

24 *L, d*, M^r Chaplain Preached from Colossians 3. 1. If ye then be risen with Christ seek those things which are above afternoon y^e same chapter & 3 verse: for ye are ded and your life is hid with Christ in God But was Cold and dul having no Sense of of my danger or my Duty the six next days was followed with temptations to Sin; and alas I have no strength to withstand with that farmness as I ought

31 *L, d*, Attempted secret Prayer in the Morning But O I dont meet with God Alas I fear He has withdrawn wholly from me and well he may on account of my late sin in in particular O was Ever any Creature Porsed with such a hard Hart as I am; did ever a Creature stand it out against there Creatore as I do O that God wod humble me on that acount I herd M^r Adams of Acton from Luke 14. 18 And thay all with one Consent began to make excuse Afternoon Mathew 9. 12. But when Jesus heard that he said unto them thay that be whole need not a physician but thay that are sick.

Monday, T, June 1, 2. 1778 O the dulness & indiferance that has seas^d my hart: art Thou quite gon O Lord O return unto thy unworthy Servent; thou woud be jus I must confess if thou was to tak away the Strivings of thy Spirit from me. But oh God do not withdraw and give me up to hardness of Hart and a Reprobate mind But wash me in the great fountain But O Lord I have nothing to plead as to worthiness But I have much to Plead as to my Nesesity & want

3 *W*, went to lector and herd, M^r Newel from Colossians 1. 27 which is Christ in you the hope of Glory

4 *Th*, was dul in Religion was Riding with a Christion frind; had agreeable Conversation on the rode. herd a lector at Lunenburg by M^r whitney¹ from Acts 3. 26. in turning every one of you from his iniquities. I was furnished with mater of self Examation by the reading of M^r Flavels life But O how do I come short of his example and how infinitely short of the Example of Christ

5, 6 *F, S*, had some inlargment in duty But mostly cold and dul in duty

7 *L, d*, this was Communion day with our Church & there was Seven persons taken into the Church M^r Chaplain Preached from Romans 6. 1, 2. What shall we say then shall we Continue in Sin that grace may abound God forbid how shall we that are ded to sin live any longer therein Afternoon Colossians 3. 4. When Christ who is our life shall appear then shall ye also appear him in glory.

¹ Rev. Phineas Whitney, of Shirley.

his Proformance was Extraordany I had something of a vew of the odaous nature of Sin and some cuting Reflections on the Account thereof

8, 9, *M, T*, was slothfull in duty for the most part

10 *W*, rod to Harvord to an Ordanation of D^r Parker¹ of the baptis order; D^r Stilman gave the discorce his text was in the 2; Timothy 2. 2. And the things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses the same Commit thou unto faithfull men who shall be able to teach others also. M^r Allin gave a lector towards night in the same place from Mathew 5. 6. let your light so shine before men &c

11. *Th*, went to Privit meetin why oh my Sole dont you love your redeemer more and hate Sin more

12, 13, *F, S*, had some inlargment in the duty of Prayer and meditation make me thankfull o Lord

14 *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin from Hebrews, 6. 7, 8. For the earth which drinketh in the rane that Cometh oft upon it, &c Enjoyed some Comfort in duty and was asisted in Spakeing in the famerly on important truths

15, 16 *M, T*, was tempted to Sin even to my right hand Sin.

17, 18 *W, Th*, went to Westford to an ordonation² But it was put By til the nex wek on account of some Dificualtyes and divisions in the Church had opertunity for meditation by the way

19, 20, *F, S*, had some freedom in prayer But alas at what a low rate do I live with God and in religion; oh that God wold revive the things that begin to die in me

21 *L, d*, herd M^r Thatcher from Corinthians 13. 5. Examin yourselves whether ye live in the faith how apt I am to Rest secure and live in the neglect of duty; and sin at a high rate; oh God shoe to me my Sins and foly and Grant me new obedience

For the three next days I Enjoyed somthing of the Divine Presence was with a Christon that spoke on the power of religion: oh that I did live near to God and Duty the Sun was in an Aclips on Wednesday 24 Day which aforded me mater of Medation

25 *Th*, went to privet meeten O that I was more thankfull

26 *F* the Wather was Exceeding hot & I was much exposed to it which led me to reflect on the State of the finerly impenant who will be forst to bare the scaldings drops of Gods wrath without any toleration or mixter of mercy

27 *S*, O that my hart was in Heaven while my hands is Engaged about my lawfull buisness.

¹ Dr. Isaiah Parker, who had previously studied medicine.

² June 17, 1778, was the day appointed for the ordination of Mr. Jesse Read at Westford, which, owing to dissensions in the church, did not take place. See Hodgman's History of Westford, pp. 269-271, for an account of the difficulty.

28 *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin John 6. 44. No man can come to me except the Father which hath sent me draw him; &c Afternoon Mathew 5. 6. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. O how dull am I under the Preeching of the word: for which I am to blame quicken me O Lord by thy Spirit

Now for three days I was two dul in religion and duty

2 *July Th*, Sot out Early in the morning & went to Worster & saw fore Persons Hung for the murder of M^r Spooner of Brookfieald: Viz, M^{rs} Spooner his wife M^r Buchanan. Brooks & Ros all young persons¹ and O what a solam sean it was: to Behold Persons lanching into the world of sperits O Lord keep me from falling into Sin which Exposes life to to [*sic*] publick Justis: But Alas how have I Exposed my life temporal & Etarnal to Divine Justis thou oh God would be Just to make me Miserable and Cast me of for ever

3 *F*, went to Church meeten O at what a low rate do I live

4 *S*, was Enabled to use fervency in Prayer in the morning

5 *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin from Colossians 3. 4. When Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall ye Also appear with him in glory. Afternoon Proverbs 8. 17. I love them that love me and those that seek me early shall find me. Lord cause thy word preeched this day to be profitable to all that herd it; Espesily to my Sole and the Youth in special Now for the Past week I was much in the world; But Enjoyed some Comfort in God in the way of duty

12 *L, d*, herd M^r Thatcher from Jeremiah 13. 23. Can the Ethio-pian chang his skin or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good that are accustomed to do evil. Afternoon Luke 10. 29. But he willing to Justify himself said unto Jesus and who is my neighbor

19 *L, d*, the last week I was in a dul frame in Religⁿ herd M^r Thatcher &c

26 *L, d*, O how was I the week Past ded and lifis in Duty taking little or no delight in secret Prayer O Lord Pluck me as a brand out of the burning & deliver my sole from the pit of distruction herd M^r Chaplin from Acts 3. 19. Repent ye therefore and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the Presence of the Lord. he Pointed out Repentance as the way to life in a strikeing point of light O that I could feel this true repentance which would affect a reformation in my hart and life

2 *L, d, August* herd M^r Chaplin from John 7. 37. In the last day that great day of the feast Jesus stood and cried saying if any man thirst let him come unto me and drink. afternoon Ephesians 6. 4. And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them

¹ This case had caused great excitement in central Massachusetts on account of the social standing of Mrs. Spooner. Her accomplices were James Buchanan and William Brooks, who had been soldiers in Burgoyne's army, and Ezra Ross, a former soldier in the American army from Ipswich.

up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord this was Communion day with our Church but I was Exceeding dul and stuped

16 *L, d,* herd M^r Chaplin from Romans 16. 27. God only wise afternoon Ephesians 6. 4.

30 *L, d,* herd M^r Chaplin from Ephesians 6. 4. his Preeching was powerfull. addressing Parents and Children with a mooving affection O that it might proove of real benefit to all and to me in particular.

this week I was Exercised with temptation oh the fountain of Corruption and Sin that loges in my Brest

6 *September L, d,* herd M^r Chaplin from Romans 8. 9. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is noone of his he shew the affect of the Spirit by Giving a short commentary on Galatians 5. 22, 23. oh Lord work in and for me thy good Pleasure & help me in the neglected duty of Self examanation and O that thou wood sharch me and dis cure to me the Plag of my own hart

13 *L, d,* herd M^r Brick from Isaiah 40. 1 Comfort ye comfort ye m[y peop]le saith your God afternon Malachi 3. 14. Ye have said it is vain to serve God: he spoke with a feealing sense of what he sed

27 *L, d,* herd M^r Perry¹ from James 1. 2. My bretherin Count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations Afternon Genesis 23. 2 And Sarah died in Karjath-arba the same is hebron in the land of Canaan and Abraham came to morn for Sarah and to weep for hur.

4 *L, d,* herd M^r Thare Mathew 5. 13. ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savor wherewith shall it be salted it is henceforth good for nothing but to be Cast out and to be troden under foot of Men Afternoon Zechariah 9. 12. Turn ye to the stronghold ye prisoners of hope

8 *T, October* Was on a Jorney to Boston & was tempted to Sin and I indulged the thought to two great a length and was hurried on to the wounding of my sole and dishonor of God Lord Convince me of sin and convert me unto thy self

18 *L, d,* herd M^r Chaplin Matthew 6. 10 Thy kingom come. Afternoon Romans 8. 1. There is therefore now no condemnation to them which is in Christ Jesus who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. O that I Could feel the water of this preaching

25 *L, d,* herd M^r Chaplin from Mathew 6. 10. thy will be dun on Earth as it is in heaven. Afternoon Ezekel 18. 31 for why will ye die

1 *November L, d,* herd M^r Powars² of Cohors from Proverbs 18. 10. the name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous run into it and is safe [] Powerfull []

[Some pages here missing.]

¹ Perhaps the Rev. Joseph Perry (H. C. 1752), of East Windsor, Conn., who on Oct. 23, 1755, was married to Sarah Lawrence, of Groton.

² Rev. Peter Powers (H. C. 1754), of Haverhill, N. H., which was then known as Lower Coos.

Blessed is the nation whos God is the Lord; and the people whome he has chosen for his own inheritance

3 [*January*, 1779,] *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin from Luke 9. 23^d And he said to them all, if any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross daly and follow me Af^m Philippians 4. 5 The Lord is at hand. I am wofully stupid and in a lithargick state and seem to be left of God & given up to Hardness of hart oh that God wold appear for me in much mercy & awaike my drousey powers to obedience for if thou Lord dost not appear I shall be lost forever

24 *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin from Mathew 6. 33^d But seek ye the kingdom of God and his rightness & all thess things shall be added unto you

31 *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin from 1 John 4. 9. in this was manafested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begoting Son into the world, that we might live through him. Afternoon Luke 9. 23. and take up his cross daly and follow me

7 *L, d, February* this was sacrament day herd M^r Chaplin from John 6. 56. he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him Afternoon Psalm 110. 3. Thy people shall be willing the day of thy power in the Beauties of holiness for the wome of the morning: thou haish the dew of thy youth oh that I had a hart to sarve God but how do I live secure and dull in the enjoymnt of Gospel ordinances; O the the [*sic*] wickedness of the hart

21 *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin 2 Corinthians 6. 2 behold now is the expected time behold now is the day of salvation: afternoon S, John Verily verily I say unto you He that believeth on me hath everlasting. Lord return unto me who has bacsliden from the & grant that I may never back slide from the more; help lord for vain is my own help, and atemps to Chang my own hart for Sin brakes out. and love groes Cold

28 *L, d*, herd M^r Chaplin 1 Peter 5. 6. Humble your selves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt yoy in due tim

7 *L, d March* herd M^r Chaplin from Hebrews 6. 18. That by two immutable things in which it is impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us

14 *L* herd M^r Chaplin from Galations 2. 19th For I through the law am ded to the law that I might live unto God. Time lost and wo is me

[*Some pages here missing.*]

25 *L, d, April* [1779,] herd M^r Chaplin from 1st Corinthians C. 10. nor dronkards shall inherit the kingdom of God oh hardness without a Parrial

2 *L, d, May* herd M^r Chaplin from 1 Timothy 6. 10 For the love of money is the root of all evil

6 *Th*, this was a day set apart by our honerable Contanental Congras as a day of Publick fasting and Prayer herd M^r Chaplin from Lamentations 3. 40, 31. Let us search and try our ways and turn again to the Lord. For the Lord will not cast of forever. O the stupidity of my mind and dedniss in duty o that I was truly awakened to my duty which must be by an almitly power or else I shall be dead still

The following entry appears on a blank page of the Diary. Amos Shed, mentioned therein, was the eldest child of William and Lydia (Farnsworth) Shed, and was born on April 17, 1766. His mother was a sister of the diarist; and presumably the paper was drawn up when the young man became of age.

To all whom it may concern know that I Amos Shed of Groton in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massechusetts Labourer Have this day reed of Amos Farnsworth of the afores^d Groton Gentlemen my guardian Nineteen Pounds nine shillings and one farthing in full of one right or double portion or share in the real Estate of my late Grandfathers Amos Farnsworth deceas^d Estate accrued to me in right of my late mother Lydia Shed deceas^d In consideration of the above sum I do for my self Heirs and assigns acquit all my right in my late Grandfathers Estate to him and his Heirs forever

The following two or three pages are found in a separate note-book, and contain entries made during the campaign of 1776, while Mr. Farnsworth was in Captain Job Shattuck's company, of which he was Ensign.

	0 " 3 " 0
John Parker	0 " 3 " 0
Lent M ^r Gilson	0 " 3 " 0
	0 " 2 " 6
<i>August</i> Ticonderoga 27 1776 Lent Thomas Baker	0 " 4 " 0
<i>August</i> Ticonderoga 29 th 1776 Lent Levi Parker twelve Dollars	
<i>Sept^r</i> 7 Lent Ephraim Robins five Shillings York	
<i>Sept^r</i> 17 lent Elisha Hoit one Dollar	
John Nutten d ^r	0 : 2 : 5 : 0
lent William Colburn	0 : 1 : 6 : 0
<i>Sept^r</i> 20 th Lenard Taylor Money Payd at Several times.	0 : 12 : 4 : 0
<i>Sept^r</i> Lieu ^t Connant D ^r	0 : 2 : 3 : 0
<i>Sept^r</i> 26 th Pay ^d for washing for the Deceasd in Capt. Shattuck Comp.	0 : 10 : 9 - 0

Lent Sarg^t Parker one Dollar.

Lent Sargt Sawtell five Dollars

Cap^t Shattuck to sause

0 : 1 : 10 : 0

Lenard Taylor D^r

0 : 1 : 8 : 3

Lent Thomas Baker

0 - 2 - 0

Lent Joseph Taylor Seven Dollars

Lent Amasa Gilson One Dollar

Lent Amasa Gilson

0 : 7 : 6 : 0

lent Joseph Taylor Seven Dollars

lent Thomas Baker Two Dollars

Oct. 1776 Isaac Warren D^r for a Pare of Stockens 0 - 7 - 0 - 0

Spencer Dec^r 6th 1776 Lent Isaac Williams two Dollars & Six Pence

Some remarks to help the Memerry

July Tuesday 23^d 1776. I sot out on my march for Canada Got to Charlstown New hampshire

Saturday July 27. Marched from Charlstown.

Monday August 5th Arived at Ticonderoga

Saturday August 10

Sunday august 11 we went to a Mount South of Ty known by the name of Mount Independence

Tuesday August 20th we mooved acrost the lake and Pich^d our Tents on Ticonderoga

Thursday Sept^r 12 Eight of us went upon the Generals Bisness 8 miles Below Crown-Point

friday Sept^r 13 Returning back Stopt and supt at a Widow woman's hous in Aderson [Addison, Vt.] whare the Smal Pox hod bin the day before Stay^d at Adderson all night

Saterday Sept^r 14th we Returned back to Tie

Friday Oct^r 11th our fleet and the Enemy had a battle. And Continured till Sunday Oct^r 13th and we lost twelve Sail & five Retreeted to Ty

Monday Octr 28th the Enemy Apeared in Site on a Point of land and in Battucks [Batteaux] advancing towards us we was Alarmed and Expected an atack we was in high Sperits

Sunday Novr. 3^d the Regulers left Putnam and Crown Point and went to winter quarters

Tuesday Nov^r 26th we Set out for home by the way of Albany arived at Fort Gorge Wednesday: & Fort Edwood Thirsday and fort An & Saratoga & Stilwater Friday

Saterday lay near Albany

Sunday December 1st Eat brakefast in Albany I went to Meeten in the fore noon her^d Preeching from Acts 2. 36, 37, 38 Crosed Hutsons river in the afternoon lay at Green Boosh

Monday Dec^r 2 Came to Canterhooch [Kinderhook, N. Y.] & Barrenton [Great Barrington, Mass.] & westfieald & Springfield & Brookfieald & Worsister & Lankister & Shirley & Got to Groton
Saturday Dec^r 7th

Ticonderoga

An account of the Persons that has dyed Since the 20th August 1776
 in Coloⁿ Jona^t Reads Regiment

Lieu^t Tomson of Cap^t Toys Comp Died with the Small pox at fort Jorge

Corporil Spoldin of Cap^t Fords Comp^a ¹ died at fort Jorge Small Pox.

Wednesday Sept^r 4 M^r Baker Cap^t Parkers C Dy^d And M^r Dameron of Cap, Bancroft

Wednesday Sept^r 10th 1776 Joshua Shattuck of Cap^t Shattuck Company Di^d

Saturday Sept^r 14 M^r Walker of Capt. Parkers Comp, Died
 M^r Goodil of Capt, Mils Com James Graham of Capt. Shattuck Comp^y
 Died on Friday Sept^r 20 with the bloody-flux Elazor Whipple of Cap^t Shattuck Comp, Died on Saturday Sept^r 21st

Sunday Sept^r 22^d Jonas Blood of Cap^t Shattuck Comp.

Monday Sep^t 23rd John Graves of Cap^t Shattuck

Wednesday Sept^r 25th M^r Rice of Cap^t Wheelors Comp

A fue Days ago Lieu^t Prat of Capt. Toys Comp^y Dyed at fort Jorge with y^e Small Pox

Sunday Sept^r 29th M^r Shattuck of Cap^t Gats Comp.

Oct^r 2nd Wednesday Benj^a Jewet of Capt. Shattuck Comp.

Oct^r M^r Gates and M^r Prest of Cap^t Gates Comp^p

Oct^r 12 Ensⁿ Underwood of Cap^t Wheeler Comp^p

Oct^r 15 M^r Goodale of Cap^t Gates Comp.

fore of Cap^t Bancrofts Comp^p

M^r Kingman of Cap^t Parkers Company Died on Thursday Oct^r 17th

M^r toy of Cap^t Toys Comp Died Oct^r 21

Nehemiah Parker of Cap^t Shattuck Comp^y Died on Oct^r Tuesday 22

Saturday Oct^r 26 Will^m Colburn of Cap^t Shattucks M^r Underwood of Cap^t Whel

Nov^r 17th M^r Leason of Cap^t Whelors Comp.

¹ This company was commanded by John Ford, of Chelmsford.

APPENDIX.

The Muster Roll of Captain Farwell's company of minute-men is found among the Massachusetts Archives (XII. 62) in the State House; and a copy is given below.

From an entry in the Diary by Mr. Farnsworth, on April 26, a few days after reaching Cambridge, it would seem that Farwell's company was re-organized at that date, when a new enlistment took place. At the same time a similar change was made in Captain James Hosley's company of minute-men from Townsend; and then these two companies from adjoining towns were consolidated. Probably the same reorganization took place in other companies of like character. The minute-man had enlisted for a short and indefinite term of service, and, when the emergency was over, his part of the contract was fulfilled. The men whose names appear on the Muster Roll as having served only six days are, presumably, those who re-enlisted in Farwell's company, or in some of the other companies, and remained in the field. It is known that a few of them joined either Captain Asa Lawrence's company or Captain Joseph Moors's, which were enlisted for a period of eight months, or until the end of the year 1775. The men who are accredited on the roll with seventy miles' travel are those, doubtless, who returned home within a few days of the reorganization of the company. In connection with the roll of Farwell's minute-men, here printed, that of the new company is also given. This roll, found among the Massachusetts Archives (XIV. 96), includes the names of a few men from other towns besides Groton and Townsend. Timothy Stone enlisted from Ashby; Peletiah Russell, from the Coos Country in New Hampshire, and later was a resident of Groton; Jonathan Sawtell, a native of Groton, from Rindge, New Hampshire; and Jeremiah Wier, from Limerick, the old name of Stoddard, New Hampshire.

*A Muster-roll of Cap^t Henry Farwells Comp^y of Minute-Men in Col^o
W^m Prescotts Reg^t who march'd from Groton y^e 19th of April 1775*

Mens Names	Their Rank	The time when march'd from home	N ^o of miles coming & going those y ^t return'd	N ^o of days in the Service
Henry Farwell	Cap ^t	Ap ^l 19	miles	6 days
Zach ^h Fitch	1 st L ^t	d ^o	70	11
Amaziah Fassett	2 ^d L ^t	d ^o	70	11
Abel Bancroft	Serj ^t	d ^o	70	11
Jon ^a Stone	d ^o	d ^o	70	8
Neh ^h Lawrance	d ^o	d ^o	70	10
Josiah Stevens	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Nath ^l Sartell	Corp ^l	d ^o	.....	6
Phineas Hubbard	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Silas Page	d ^o	d ^o	70	4
Sam ^l Lawrence	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Joel Jenkins	Fifer	d ^o	.....	6
Amos Adams	Priv ^a	d ^o	70	10
James Adams	d ^o	d ^o	70	10
David Archabald	d ^o	d ^o	.....	16
Aaron Biglow	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Tho ^s Baker	d ^o	d ^o	.....	18
W ^m Colbourn	d ^o	d ^o	70	11
Josh ^a Davis	d ^o	d ^o	70	18
W ^m Farwell	d ^o	d ^o	70	5
Oliver Farnsworth	d ^o	d ^o	70	18
John Fife	d ^o	d ^o	70	14
Oliver Farnsworth j ^r	d ^o	d ^o	70	18
Amos Farnsworth	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Aaron Farnsworth	d ^o	d ^o	70	20
Sam ^l Hemenway	d ^o	d ^o	70	10
Phineas Hemenway	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Obadiah Jenkins	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Jon ^a Jenkins	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
David Jenkins	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Obadiah Jenkins j ^r	d ^o	d ^o	70	19
Sam ^l Kemp	d ^o	d ^o	70	10
Eph ^m Kemp	d ^o	d ^o	70	14
Will ^m Kemp	d ^o	d ^o	70	14
Eben ^r Kemp	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
John Laughton	d ^o	d ^o	70	10
Jon ^a Lawrence	d ^o	d ^o	70	15

Sam ^l Lawrence	d ^o	d ^o	70	5
Jon ^a Lawrence j ^r	d ^o	d ^o	70	18
Tim ^o Moors	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Joseph Page	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Benj ^a Page	d ^o	d ^o	70	13
Thomas Parks	Priv ^a	Ap ^l 19	.....	6 days
John Parker	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
W ^m Phelps	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Eph ^m Russell	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Sam ^l Rockwood	d ^o	d ^o	70	14
Eph ^m Robbins	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Sam ^l Sartell	d ^o	d ^o	70	14
Amos Stone	d ^o	d ^o	70	10
W ^m Shed	d ^o	d ^o	70	14
Jon ^a Sartell	d ^o	d ^o	.....	6
Jonas Taylor	d ^o	d ^o	70	2
Abner Whetcomb	d ^o	d ^o	70	15
Ephraim Ward	d ^o	d ^o	70	10

HENRY FARWELL *Cap^t*

Middlesex ss. Dec^r 22^d 1775.

Henry Farwell made solemn Oath that the above roll by him sub-
scrib'd is just and true in all its parts

Before me MOSES GILL. Jus. Peace thro^u y^e Colony

Examin'd & compar'd with the Org^l

E. STARKWEATHER } *Com^{ee}*

In Council March 21th 1776

Read & allowed & ordered that a warrant

on the Treasury for £51 : 9 / 2 1/4 in full of this Roll

PEREZ MORTON *D Secy*

A true Copy G. TAILER

[Indorsed] Copy Groton Cap^t Henry Farwell Muster-roll £51 " 9 " 2 1/4

*A muster Roll of the Company under the Comand of Captain
Henery Farwell in Colenol Will Presotts Reg^a to the first of
August 1775*

Mens Names	Towns whence they Came	Rank	Time of Inlistment	travel	time of servis
				miles	Days
Henry Farwell	Groton	Captain	April 25 th	35	98
Levi Whitney	Townshend	1 Leivt	April 25	44	98
Benja Ball	Townshend	2 Leut	April 25	44	98
Josiah Stevens	Groton	Sergeant	April 25	35	98
Nathanill Sartwell	Groton	Sergeant	April 25	35	98
Phinas Hubbard	Groton	Sergeant	April 25	35	98
Ephraim Brown	Townshend	Sergeant	April 25	44	98
Samuel Lawrence	Groton	Corprol	April 25	35	98
Amos Farnsworth	Groton	Corprol	April 25	35	98
Epharim Worran	Townshend	Corprol	April 25	44	98
Joseph Page	Groton	Corprol	April 25	35	98
Timothy Stone	Ashby	Drumer	July 19	50	13
Joel Jenkins	Groton	fifer	April 25	35	98
Ephraim Adams	Townshend	Privat	July 19	44	13
Benjamin Brooks	Townshend	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Isaac Boyanton	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Eleaszer Butterfield	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Jonas Brooks	Grotton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
John Clarke	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Moses Chase	Groton	D ^o	May 6	35	87
William Dirumphel	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
James Davise	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
Josiah Davise	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Henry Dunster	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Joel Davise	Townshand	D ^o	July 19	44	13
John Emary	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Jonas Farmer	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Joseph Frost	Groton	D ^o	May 6	35	86
Noah Farrah	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Abel Foster	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Daniel Foster	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
[Mor]ah Gould	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Oliver Hildrick	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Abijah Hildrick	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
[O]badiah Jinkins	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
David Jinkins	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
Zakeous Farwell	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98

Ebenezer Kemp	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
Isaac Kidder	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
John Manning	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
He[nr]y M ^c Neil	Groton	D ^o	May 15	35	78
Timothy Moors	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
[Jon]athan Patt	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
[Josiah] Richardson	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Peltiah Russell	Coas	D ^o	May 6	180	87
Joseph Rumral	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Ephriam Russell	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
Ephriam Robbins	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	98
Abel Richardson	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Andrew Richardson	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
[I]sreal Richardson	Townshand	D ^o	July 19	44	13
[J]onathan Seartle	Ringe	D ^o	Aprile 25	60	98
Daniel Spaulding	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Daniel Sherwin	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Joseph Willson	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
[Fr]ances White	Groton	D ^o	May 6	35	87
[Jerem]iah Wier	Limbrick	D ^o	Aprile 25	96	98
[Ur]ial Whitney	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
[J]osiah Warrin	Groton	D ^o	May 2	35	91
Tho ^s Wyman	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Oliver Warrin	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Will ^m Smith	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	41
John Burge	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	46
Sam ^l Weston	Townshand	D ^o	Aprile 25	44	98
Jonathan Jinkins	Groton	D ^o	Aprile 25	35	60
Asa White	Groton	D ^o	May 6	35	53

In Council Feb^y 9th 1776 Read & allowed &
ord^d that a Warr^t be drawn on y^e Treas^r for
327. 3. 5 in full of this roll

PEREZ MORTON *D Secr*

[Indorsed] Cap^t Henry Farwells Roll in Col^o Prescottts Reg^t £327:3:5 for
1775

Major WILLIAM R. LIVERMORE exhibited a series of 155 sketches designed for an historical atlas showing the historical geography of Europe from 1500 B. C. to 1100 A. D., 25 sketches of Italy from 650 to 260 B. C., and 19 of Greece from 320 to 140 B. C. In running over the sheets he described more especially the early migrations of the barbarians, as he had already described the later migrations and the political changes of the historical states in papers read before other societies.

On the first map, which was dated B. C. 1500 $\pm$, the Scythians were seen north of the Sea of Azof. West of them were the Thracians, reaching as far as the *Ægean* and the upper middle course of the Danube. Then the Illyrians from the sources of the Danube to Epirus and Macedon. Farther west were the Celts and the Italians, and then the non-Aryan Ligurians and Iberians. On the southern shores of Sicily and Spain the Sidonians were just beginning to colonize the outlying islands.

The next map was dated B. C. 1000 $\pm$, and showed the great movement from the east that carried the Scythians to the river Tyras, the Thracians to the Tiber and the sources of the Rhine, where as Tauriski, Teuriski, Etrusci, Tyrrheni, Istri, Rhæti, etc., they occupied all the valleys of the Danube, the Po, and the Arno. As Tauri the Thracians remained in the Crimea. Crowding upon the Illyrians and the Greeks, they drove the Illyrians into southern Italy, and caused the Doric migration in Greece. The Tyrians held the southern extremity of Spain. The Greeks colonized Cumæ.

B. C. 800 $\pm$. The Thracian movement is nearly completed. In Spain the Tyrian influence spreads along the shores and rivers.

B. C. 750 $\pm$. The northern branch of the Thracian race has crowded the southern and more civilized Myso-Phrygian branch out of the valley of the Hebrus, and as Cimmerians and Treres they threaten Asia Minor. Rome first makes its appearance on the Tiber.

B. C. 700 $\pm$. Greek colonies on the north shore of the *Ægean* and in southern Italy.

B. C. 650. The Scythians have reached the Danube. Greek colonies multiply on the Euxine and the *Ægean* and in southern Italy. Macedon appears.

B. C. 600. Bithynians in Asia Minor. Greeks on the Bos-

phorus, Hellespont, and Adriatic. Etruscans in the neighborhood of Rome. Greek colony of Marseilles appears.

B. c. 550. Celts in northern and central Gaul and on the upper Danube. Ligurians in southern Gaul and on the mountains of northern Spain. Etruscans in Latium and Campania.

B. c. 520. Kingdom of the Tartessii in southern Spain. Libyphœnicians on the extreme southern coast.

B. c. 500. Darius, the Persian, holds Thrace from the Strymon to the mouth of the Danube. Macedon submits to him. Celts cross the western Pyrenees and enter Spain. Etruscans driven out of Latium.

B. c. 480. Persians hold Macedon and Thrace. Celts in the mountain regions of northern and central Spain. Teutones in valleys of Vistula and Oder. Slavonians on the upper Don, Dnieper, and Dniester.

B. c. 460. Persians no longer in Europe. Macedon independent and much extended.

B. c. 440. A great Thracian state under Teres. Athenian Empire in the Ægean. The Samnites, an Italian nation, advance along the highland into Lucania. The Celts now hold half of Spain.

B. c. 420. Thracians under Sitalkes hold all from the Danube to the Ægean, and from the Euxine to the sources of the Axius. The Samnites take Campania from the Etruscans and advance along the ridge into Bruttium. The Celts cross the upper Rhone and descend the valley.

The maps now follow at intervals of ten years to the Christian Era, then at intervals of twenty years to 340 A. D., and at intervals of ten years from 340 to 1100 A. D.

B. c. 400. The Celts appear in the valley of the Po, and at the same time enter Bohemia and move to the south and east along the eastern Alps, cutting off the Rhætians and the Etruscans from the Thracians of the valley of the Danube. The Volcæ or Belgæ have crossed the lower Rhine.

B. c. 390. The Celts in the valley of the Po cut off the Rhætians from the Etruscans.

B. c. 380. Dionysius of Syracuse controls all Sicily and southern Italy, with colonies on the Adriatic. The Lucanians destroy the Greek power in southern Italy. Cisalpine Gaul is divided up into small communities, Celtic, Ligurian,

Etruscan, and Greek. The Thraco-Illyrian Autariatæ, driven before the Celts, are thrown upon the Triballi on the Lower Danube. The Thracian state in the valley of the Hebrus is broken up.

B. c. 360. The Sarmatians appear, cross the Don and drive back the Scythians.

B. c. 350. The Volcæ or Belgian Gauls reach the Main and the Seine. The Celts reach the confluence of the Drave and the Danube.

B. c. 340. Macedon, under Philip II., extends to the Hæmus.

B. c. 330. The Empire of Alexander the Great reaches to the Danube. The Romans hold a small strip of land on the west coast of Italy.

B. c. 320. The Thracians north of the Hæmus and the Scythians at the mouth of the Danube are independent of Macedon.

B. c. 300. The Volcæ cross the upper Rhine and descend the Soane. The Teutones are behind them and have nearly reached the Rhine. Lysimachus reconquers the Thracians and Scythians north of the Hæmus as far as the Dnieper.

B. c. 290. The Thracians and Scythians north of the Hæmus are independent. The Volcian Celts have conquered the Autariatæ on the Danube and threaten Macedon.

B. c. 280. The western Volcæ have descended the Rhone and advanced to the Pyrenees and probably to the Ebro, while the eastern Volcæ have followed along the eastern Alps to the lower course of the Danube, where they soon after found the kingdom of Tylis, while some cross to Asia Minor and found Gallatia. The Volcæ from Bohemia and Moravia follow along the Carpathians, and with some mixture of Teutonic blood eventually appear on the Tyras as the Bastarnæ.

B. c. 260. The time of the first Punic War; the Sarmatians have crossed the Borysthenes, and nothing is now seen of the Scythians except a few feeble remnants about the Crimea and the mouth of the Danube.

At the time of the Christian Era the Sarmatians have reached the Danube at its mouth, and farther west have descended the valley of the Theiss. All the Celts on the Continent have been incorporated with the Roman Empire, which now reaches the Elbe and the Danube.

This series of maps is probably the first attempt to represent all that is known of the boundaries of nations or races throughout a long period, so as to make the representations complete in respect to time.

The objection has been raised that the use of charts takes away all the romance of history which is attached to the personal narrative, but it is by no means claimed that a knowledge of the geographical distribution of political supremacy comprises all that is useful in history. It is, however, the alphabet of history and the foundation of historical science.

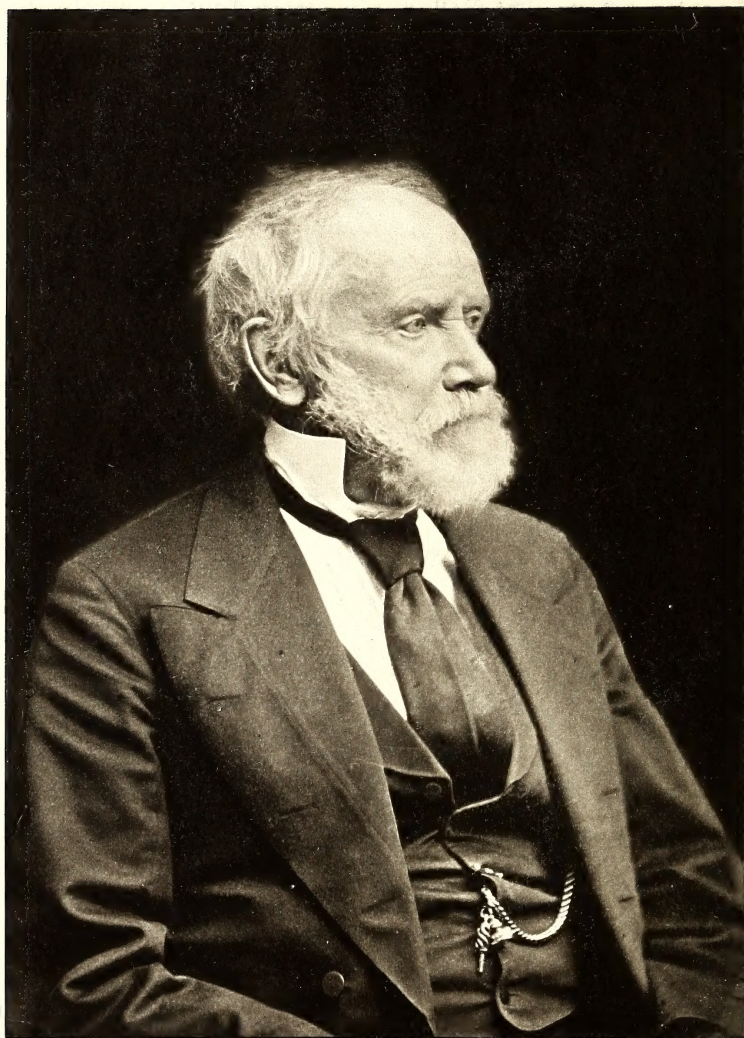
Mr. JAMES FORD RHODES said, in answer to the President's challenge at the December meeting, he did not maintain that the two volumes of Samuel R. Gardiner, "*Cromwell's Place in History*," and Vol. II. of the "*History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*," made the year memorable in the historical world, agreeing with the statement that a volume of a continuous work by an author whose reputation is made does not of itself make the year memorable; but it seemed to him that these volumes were noteworthy in that they presented probably a new view of Cromwell. Mr. Rhodes spoke of the great interest taken in Cromwell by the descendants of the Puritan settlers of the United States, and of the difference between Carlyle's and Macaulay's Cromwell on the one hand and Gardiner's on the other. He showed by quotations from each how Gardiner overturned the notions of Macaulay in regard to the Puritan contempt of amusements and in regard to the piety and austerity of Cromwell's army. He quoted Gardiner in regard to the corruption and immorality of many of the members of the rump of the Long Parliament, and then proceeded by citations from Gardiner's two volumes to give the historian's view of Cromwell and of his place in history.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON read an interesting letter, dated in 1789, from a resident of Salem to a relative in Boston, who had desired him to purchase in the former place material for a gown of a certain pattern. The letter still encloses a sample "very near the pattern." He also read an advertisement, in the autograph of Benedict Arnold, dated St. Pierre, Martinique, October 15, 1794, offering a reward for the arrest of a clerk who had robbed him and run away.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH presented the memoir of the late John Amory Lowell, and the Rt. Rev. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D., the memoir of the late Amos A. Lawrence, which they had been respectively appointed to write for publication in the Proceedings.¹

Remarks were also made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, and by Messrs. WILLIAM W. CRAPO, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, EDWARD CHANNING, and ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr.

¹ For a fuller account of Mr. Lawrence, see the "Life of Amos A. Lawrence, with Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence, by his son, William Lawrence," Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888, 12 mo, pp. 289.



John Amory Lowell

MEMOIR
OF
JOHN AMORY LOWELL, LL.D.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH.

JOHN AMORY LOWELL was a descendant, in the sixth generation, from Percival Lowell, a merchant of Bristol, England, who came over in 1639, and settled at Newbury, Massachusetts. The immigrant's great-grandson, Rev. John Lowell, was a native of Boston and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1721. For forty-one years he was minister of the Third Church in Newbury, where he exercised a deep and lasting influence on the community. He appears to have been a man of amiable character, of various accomplishments, a moderate Calvinist in his theological opinions, with a high sense of the importance of the ministerial office, and to have been a steadfast supporter of the rights and privileges of the Congregational churches. "I abhor bigotry," he once said; "yet I think these churches have some valuable interests to defend." And he added: "I heartily love all good men of all communions; but as a minister of one of these churches, I am obliged to have a care for them and their privileges." His son, also named John, graduated at Harvard in 1760, obtained a large practice as a lawyer, and held various conspicuous and influential positions in public life. On the adoption of the Federal Constitution he was appointed by Washington Judge of the District Court of Massachusetts. On the reorganization of the judicial system near the close of the administration of President Adams he was made Chief Justice of the Circuit Court, which office he held until the Court was abolished under Jefferson by the repeal of the act creating it. He was for eighteen years a member of the Corporation of Harvard College; and to him the College was mainly indebted for the establishment of the Professorship of

Natural Philosophy. Like his grandson, the subject of this memoir, he had a special fondness for the study of botany and other branches of natural history; and he was one of the largest subscribers to the fund for endowing the new Professorship, one of the chief objects of which was to promote the study of botany. The Judge's eldest son, John, was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1786, and from 1810 to 1822 a Fellow of the Corporation. He was an ardent Federalist at a time when party spirit was at its highest, and was sometimes called "the little Rebel," from an expression used in one of his newspaper articles. Edward Everett, whose means of forming a judgment on the subject were exceptionally good, said, more than half a century ago, that after the death of Fisher Ames, in 1808, Mr. Lowell "possessed a greater ascendancy than any other person in New England over the minds of those who were opposed to the national administration." When the Unitarian controversy sprang up, he took a prominent part on the liberal side, and was recognized as a leader in the movement, inheriting the broad spirit of his grandfather, as exemplified in the legend painted on the wall of the minister's parlor, — "*In necessariis unitas; in non necessariis libertas; in utrisque charitas.*" A short and excellent sketch of him by his grandson, the late Judge Lowell, was printed in the second volume of the Proceedings of this Society.

John Amory Lowell, the son of John and Rebecca (Amory) Lowell, was born in Boston; November 11, 1798. When he was in his fifth year, his father, whose health had been seriously impaired by overwork as a lawyer, went abroad for rest and travel, the child following a little later, and a large part of the next three years was spent in Europe. In these formative years the child doubtless gained that command of the French language which he never afterward lost. His remarkable acquaintance with other modern languages was acquired much later in life. In 1811, before he was thirteen, he entered Harvard College. It was the first year after the inauguration of President Kirkland; and through his whole college course the boy must have felt the strong impulse which that able and brilliant man gave to the college life. In his Freshman year he had a room in the President's house; in the following year he roomed in Massachusetts with John P. Bigelow, afterward Secretary of the Commonwealth and Mayor of Boston; and in

his last two years his room was with John Gorham Palfrey in Holworthy. He graduated in 1815, with high rank in a class of sixty-six, among whom, besides Bigelow and Palfrey, were Convers Francis, Thaddeus W. Harris, Theophilus Parsons, and Jared Sparks, five of those named being afterward members of the Historical Society. His part at graduating was a Forensic Disputation with George Leonard Chandler, on the question "Whether Prosperity and Increase of Wealth have a favorable Influence upon the Manners and Morals of a People?" As young Lowell was an inmate of Rev. Dr. Pierce's family, at Brookline, during the earlier part of his father's absence in Europe, it is not easy to conjecture why there is no mention of this performance in Dr. Pierce's notes on the Harvard Commencements. Chandler chose a mercantile life, and died, at the age of twenty-one, at Havana, in the island of Cuba, a few years after graduating.

Immediately on leaving college Lowell entered the store of Kirk Boott & Son, afterward known as Kirk Boott & Sons, importers of English goods, whose place of business was at No. 30 State Street, nearly opposite to the northeastern corner of the Old State House. Many years afterward he wrote: "I went into the counting-room of Kirk Boott & Sons, in September, 1815, when under seventeen years of age, and remained with them till March, 1819. I was treated with great confidence and kindness by the excellent head of the house, and by his sons; and I have ever since felt, that their influence and example were of no small advantage to me at that critical period of my life." On coming of age he went into the same business on his own account in Central Street, where he remained for about two years. In January, 1817, the elder Kirk Boott died; and for the next five years the business was carried on by his sons. In January, 1822, on the appointment of the younger Kirk Boott as agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company at Lowell, a new firm was formed for continuing the business at the same place under the designation of Boott & Lowell. The partners were John W. Boott, or Wright Boott as he was commonly called, and John A. Lowell; and the firm lasted until July, 1824, when it was dissolved. Neither partner afterward engaged directly in trade.

In 1822, though not yet twenty-four years of age, he became a Director in the Suffolk Bank, reorganized in 1865 under the

National Bank Act as the Suffolk National Bank ; and this institution he served under one or the other name for fifty-nine years. So long a term of service would in itself be noteworthy, but it is still more noticeable from the fact that he was the originator and chief supporter of what was long known as the Suffolk Bank System, and that he was for forty-two years at the head of the Foreign Money Committee. It is difficult for any one whose memory does not run back into the first half of the century to realize how great was the benefit which this system conferred on the business community ; but it was not brought into successful operation without much opposition and the surmounting of serious obstacles. The fluctuating value of the New England bank-note currency, to say nothing of the bank-notes of the more distant States, had long been a great and increasing evil. This condition as it existed at the beginning of 1824, when the system was first established, is well described in Whitney's "Suffolk Bank." The merchant of that period, we are told, when he received payment from a debtor in bank-notes, "assorted them into two parcels, current and uncurrent. In the first he placed the notes issued by the solvent banks of his own city ; in the other the bills of all other banks. Upon these latter there was a discount, varying in amount according to the location and the credit of the bank issuing them. How great the discount was he could learn only by consulting his 'Bank Note Reporter,' or by inquiring at the nearest exchange office ; and he could avail himself of them only by selling them to a dealer in uncurrent money. He could neither deposit them, nor use them in payment of his notes at a bank. The discount on them varied from one per cent upwards, according to the distance the bills had to be sent for redemption and the financial standing of the bank by which they were issued. Many banks were established in remote places, mainly for the purpose of making a profit on circulation. The more distant they were from the business centres the more expensive it was to send their bills home for redemption, and the more difficult it was for the general public to know their true financial condition." According to a circular sent to each of the Boston banks by John A. Lowell and William Lawrence, a committee appointed by the directors of the Suffolk Bank, the aggregate amount of the incorporated banking capital of New England was then less than twenty

millions of dollars, of which Boston had more than one-half, while it was estimated that the circulation of the country banks was twenty-five times as great as that of the Boston banks. As first planned, the Suffolk Bank System was based on an association of the Boston banks, to which each subscribed a certain sum proportioned to its capital, and of which the Suffolk Bank was elected to be the agent. Subsequently modifications were made in the system, which was finally carried on at the sole risk and for the profit of the bank with which it originated. But under every form it gave to the New England States a uniform and stable currency, in spite of a persistent and vexatious opposition by some of the country banks, until it was superseded by the National Bank Act of 1864. One of the most important features of that act — perhaps the most important — was the provision for the redemption of the national bank-notes, which was simply an expansion of the Suffolk Bank System as carried on by the Foreign Money Committee, under the immediate direction of Mr. Lowell.

After the dissolution of the firm of Boott & Lowell, Mr. Lowell had an office for a year or two in Milk Street, and then removed to the lower part of Water Street, where he remained about a year. In 1827 he took an office in Oliver Street, a few doors from Milk Street, remaining there twenty-two years. It was a typical merchant's counting-room and warehouse of that period, — a dingy brick building, two stories in height, with the counting-room in the front part of the second story, and the remaining portions used for the storage of merchandise.¹ In 1849 he removed to another office in Milk Street; and in 1858 he went back to State Street, to end his active life not far from the spot where he began his business career. His new office was in a building in the rear of the Suffolk Bank, and was entered through a small court-yard, partly covered with grass, and with one or two trees in it. Subsequently this court-yard was built over and added to the Suffolk Bank building. The whole site is now covered by the great office-building, eleven stories in height, on the lower corner of State Street and what used to be called Flagg Alley, but is now dignified with the name of 'Change Avenue. These successive migrations, seven or eight in all, are of interest only as they

¹ Most of the buildings of this class were three or four stories in height, but in other respects they were similar to the building occupied by Mr. Lowell.

show how small was the area within which the business of Boston was then largely carried on, and how modest were the counting-rooms of those days in comparison with the offices of the merchants and manufacturing companies of the present day.

Mr. Lowell had now become largely interested in textile manufactures, and was closely associated with Patrick T. Jackson, Francis C. Lowell, and the other founders of the great industry to which New England owes so much of its prosperity. He was Treasurer of the Boston Manufacturing Company at Waltham from 1827 to 1844; and while the younger Kirk Boott was the resident agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company at Lowell, from 1822 to 1837, he made most of the purchases of cotton and other materials in Boston, besides participating largely in the management of the land and water-power company known as the "Proprietors of the Locks and Canals." He built the Boott Mills, of which he was Treasurer from 1835 to 1848, and President from that time until his death; and he also built the Massachusetts Mills, of which he was Treasurer from 1839 to 1848, and a Director until his death. Besides his connection with these companies, he was also an officer of the Lowell Machine Shop and of other corporations in that city.

Almost from the first he took a prominent part in originating and perfecting the plans which resulted in the creation of the town, soon afterward the city, of Lawrence. Stimulated by the rapid growth of Lowell, it occurred to some sagacious men of business, more or less familiar with the locality, that a similar success might attend an attempt to utilize the falls farther down the river between Methuen and Andover. Accordingly in 1843 an association was formed for that purpose under the name of "The Merrimac Water-Power Association," which was incorporated as the "Essex Company" by an act approved March 20, 1845. On the very day on which that act was signed, a party of fourteen gentlemen from Boston visited the site of the proposed city, and after examining it were driven to Lowell for a rather late dinner. After dinner the whole subject was discussed, and during the talk the elder Abbott Lawrence and Mr. Lowell retired for consultation. When they came back they offered to the Water-Power Association for all their rights and interest in the property the sum

of thirty thousand dollars, agreeing to reimburse the Association for the expenses already incurred and to assume all outstanding contracts for the purchase of land and flowage-rights. Upon the acceptance of this offer Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Lowell were ready to take an active part in the organization of the recently incorporated company. The offer was promptly accepted; and two days afterward a subscription paper was opened for shares in the new company, with a capital of one million dollars. The four largest subscribers were Abbott Lawrence, who took one hundred thousand dollars, and Thomas H. Perkins, Nathan Appleton, and John A. Lowell, each of whom subscribed fifty thousand dollars. The remaining three-quarters were subscribed for in smaller sums, varying largely in amount. In less than three weeks the company was organized by the choice of Abbott Lawrence as President, with a Board of Directors, of whom John A. Lowell was one. Charles S. Storrow, the only survivor at the present time of the original officers, was made Treasurer. The first work to be done was the construction of the great dam across the river, for which the excavations were begun August 1, 1845, and the first stone was laid September 19. The last stone was laid September 19, 1848, exactly three years afterward.¹ It was the beginning of what is now a city of more than fifty thousand inhabitants.

In the mean time a new duty and responsibility had devolved on Mr. Lowell, as sole trustee under the will of his cousin and brother-in-law, John Lowell, Jr. This gentleman was a few months younger than J. A. Lowell, and while in the prime of life had lost by death, within a very short period, his wife and two daughters, his only children. Seeking relief from the crushing weight of this great sorrow, he went abroad, designing to visit the farthest East, and perhaps to go around the world. After an absence of a little more than three years he died in Bombay, March 4, 1836. Before leaving home, and, as we may well believe, foreseeing the possible end, he made a will, bequeathing a large part of his property "for the maintenance and support of public lectures, to be delivered in Boston, upon philosophy, natural history, the arts and sciences, or any of them, as the trustee shall, from time to time, deem

¹ A very full and interesting account of the origin of Lawrence, by Robert H. Tewksbury, based on authentic materials, is given in the "Standard History of Essex County." It is the authority for these statements.

expedient for the moral, and intellectual, and physical education of the citizens of Boston." While in Egypt he had a severe sickness, and, apparently feeling his end still nearer, he added a codicil, considerably enlarging the range of subjects, and expressing a wish that courses of lectures should be given on natural religion, on the historical and internal evidences of Christianity, on physics and chemistry, botany, zoölogy, geology, and mineralogy, and authorizing the trustee, if the funds should permit, to establish lectures on the literature and eloquence of our language and those of foreign nations, or on any subject that in the opinion of the trustee the wants and taste of the age may demand. The trustees of the Boston Athenæum were for a single specified purpose made visitors of the Trust, and within one year after his appointment each successive trustee was required to deposit in their archives a sealed paper designating his successor, who must be a male descendant of the testator's grandfather, Judge Lowell, and preferably one bearing the name Lowell, if among them any one has the necessary qualifications. But these provisions cannot be regarded as in any respect a restriction on the trustee, to whom was given the sole and absolute authority in the management of the Trust.

The sum thus devoted to a public benefit was, with perhaps a single exception, the largest sum which up to that time had been bequeathed by any individual in this country for a public object. The first course of lectures — on Geology, by Professor Silliman of Yale College — was opened in January, 1840, and was followed by courses from some of the most eminent men in the designated subjects, — men from across the ocean or growing up on our own soil, who brought down to the common mind the fruits of laborious investigation and study in the laboratory or among books. So wise was the administration of this great trust that notwithstanding the payment of large fees to the lecturers the fund, which amounted at its creation to a little less than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, had increased before the death of the first trustee to three times that sum. It can be said with entire safety that no similar trust has ever been better managed, or has more exactly carried out the wishes of the testator. To this it may very properly be added that since the death of the first trustee, the trust has been administered with equal

success, on the same lines, by his son Augustus Lowell, the present trustee, and that with the increase of its investments its usefulness has been further enlarged. As we look back on what has been already done by the Lecture Fund, in the changing conditions of life in this community, we may readily accept the prophetic words of Mr. Everett in his introductory address on opening the Lowell Institute fifty-eight years ago: "It will be, from generation to generation, a perennial source of public good, a dispensation of sound science, of useful knowledge, of truth in its most important associations with the destiny of man." In the establishment and maintenance of the Suffolk Bank System the subject of this memoir had behind him a body of strong and able men whose representative and agent he was: in the creation of the city of Lawrence he was associated with other able and far-sighted men, some of whom had much greater wealth than he possessed, and some of whom were earlier in the field than he. But in building up the Lowell Institute he is entitled to scarcely less honor than belongs to its founder, and to his wise management the success of this plan of far-reaching beneficence is largely due. It will stand as his chief service to this community in his own day and generation.

In March, 1845, Mr. Lowell's old employer, partner, and friend, Wright Boott, died by his own hand, leaving a will in which J. A. Lowell was named as executor. There had long been serious dissensions in the Boott family, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to have the will set aside. The circumstances attending the death of Wright Boott and the failure of the attempt to break the will kept the family troubles alive, and led to the publication, in the latter part of 1847, of a closely printed pamphlet of two hundred and forty-nine pages, entitled "A Correspondence between Edward Brooks and John A. Lowell, with Remarks by Edward Brooks, referring to Documents annexed." This was followed, early in 1848, by a pamphlet on much larger type, numbering two hundred and eleven pages, entitled "Reply to a Pamphlet recently circulated by Mr. Edward Brooks. By John Amory Lowell." Three years later came a volume of eight hundred and fifty-five pages, under the title of "An Answer to the Pamphlet of Mr. John A. Lowell, entitled 'Reply to a Pamphlet recently circulated by Mr. Edward Brooks.' With new

Facts and further Proofs. By Edward Brooks." As these publications, of more than thirteen hundred octavo pages, were freely circulated at the time, and copies of them are on the shelves of all the large libraries, they cannot be left without mention in any memoir of Mr. Lowell, but they concern his biographer in no other way than as showing his decision and firmness of character, his dialectical skill, and his entire mastery of accounts. The books themselves relate to one of those family feuds growing out of the management or distribution of inherited property in which "society" always takes a lively interest, though it is only remotely, if at all, affected by them, and which a later generation readily forgets.

In March, 1850, James L. Little and others, their associates and successors, were incorporated by the name of the Pacific Mills; and in May, 1852, ground was broken at Lawrence for the erection, by the Essex Company, of the largest and most important of the manufacturing establishments in the new city. Of this great corporation Abbott Lawrence was made President, and Mr. Lowell was a Director from its organization in August, 1853, down to the annual meeting in 1880, when he declined a re-election, and President from August, 1871, to July, 1877. From many causes the early years of the corporation were not prosperous; but its managers were men of courage and ability, and they weathered the storm, coming out at last on smooth seas and with favoring winds, fully justified in the confidence which they always felt in the ultimate success of their undertaking.

In the summer of 1857 occurred one of those financial crises which have marked with almost periodic regularity the history of the last sixty years. It was, perhaps, more disastrous in its effects than any of those which preceded or have followed it. The current rate of money was at one time from two to three per cent a month. The banks suspended specie payments, and not a few business houses of undoubted solvency suspended payment of their acceptances. Other houses which had been thought wealthy fell, never to rise again, bearing down with them other firms and corporations. A panic seized the owners of shares in manufacturing companies, and many persons, frightened by the thought of a personal liability for the debts of the corporations, sold their shares at absurdly low prices. The shares in the Pacific Mills fell from a par

value of one thousand dollars down to fifty dollars. Three great manufacturing corporations — the Middlesex Company, at Lowell, and the Bay State Mills and the Pemberton Mill, at Lawrence — were utterly wrecked by the failure of their selling agents. The latter mill had been built for Mr. Lowell, while he was in Europe, under instructions from him which had been exceeded, and a much larger mill built than he contemplated. It commenced operations with an insufficient capital, and the depression of trade which preceded the panic of 1857 made the business a losing one from the first. By the failure of the selling agents, Mr. Lowell, who was the largest stockholder in the company, lost heavily, and after the mill had lain idle for a year or more the whole property was sold for a mere fraction of its cost. Mr. Lowell had now reached a period of life when a successful business man naturally wishes to lay aside some of his responsibilities that he may find leisure for rest and recreation or for other pursuits; but under the then existing conditions it was not possible for him to do so, and the next few years must have been years of not a little business anxiety.

In 1836, when The Boston Gas Light Company, which was originally incorporated as a joint stock company, and afterward passed into the hands of one or two individuals, was reorganized under its old charter, Mr. Lowell became a stockholder; and from 1856 to 1877 he was one of the Directors. On the death of the late Hon. Samuel A. Eliot, who had filled the office of President for thirteen years, he was, in 1862, elected Mr. Eliot's successor. As a Director he strongly advocated a continuous reduction in the price of gas to the lowest point at which the regular dividends could be maintained, looking on this quasi-public corporation as one in which the public had rights as well as the stockholders. During the fifteen years of his Presidency, he not only discharged the ordinary duties of the office, but, in continuation of a policy adopted a few years before his election, he personally examined all the accounts of the company and voluntarily performed the duties usually assigned to an auditor. No man ever had a greater fondness for figures, and his interest in the natural sciences was fully equalled, if it was not, indeed, exceeded, by his interest in mathematical calculations. He was also for many years closely connected with the financial management of the

Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company as President and Chairman of the Finance Committee, and was long an officer of the Provident Institution for Savings. For nine years he was a trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and he repeatedly made generous subscriptions for its benefit.

He early became interested in the late William B. Rogers's plans out of which the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has grown, and at the critical moment he furnished as a loan from the Lowell Institute to the proposed institution a large sum of money required to procure its charter from the Legislature. At a later period he established, at the charge of the Lecture Fund, courses of free evening lectures in connection with the Institute, besides a course of systematic instruction in the arts of design, known as the Lowell School of Design. From its organization in April, 1862, he acted as one of the Vice-Presidents.

From 1837 to 1877 he was one of the Fellows of Harvard College, serving with seven Presidents: Quincy, Everett, Sparks, Walker, Felton, Hill, and Eliot. Here his weight of character, his long experience, and his knowledge of affairs gave to his opinions on all questions connected with the policy to be pursued by the Corporation great importance, and it has been recognized that no one had a larger influence in directing that policy. At no time has the Corporation had among its members stronger and abler men than the thirteen Fellows who served with him at one time or another during this long period. In his address at the Commencement of 1894 President Eliot bore striking testimony to the character of the members of the Corporation of 1869, of which Mr. Lowell was the senior Fellow. "I want to testify," he said, "that I could not have done the work which has been done here, if it had not been for the solid, indomitable, patient support which these six men gave to the young President. I think I see now, when I am sixty years old myself, how much that support must have cost them. It was unfailing. Perhaps they felt that, having put this youth into a dangerous and difficult place, they must stand by him; and for six years, the most critical years of the whole period, the membership of that body underwent no change." Mr. Lowell's interest in the College was further shown during his life by needed gifts to the botanical department, and at his death by a bequest of

twenty thousand dollars for the benefit of that department. He also added by a codicil to his will a bequest of twenty thousand dollars for the benefit of the College Library. His herbarium, "containing many thousand species, carefully labelled, mounted, and catalogued," by his own hand, was given to the Boston Society of Natural History, of which he had long been a member, and for many years one of the Committee on Botany. He was also, for nearly forty years, a member of the Linnæan Society of London.

From 1836 to 1845 he was one of the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum; from 1846 to 1859, Vice-President; and from 1860 to 1876, President. In 1851 he received from Harvard College the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Mr. Lowell was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in November, 1841, at the same meeting at which Asa Gray was elected, and in accordance with the rules of the Academy was assigned to the second section of the second class, — Botany. It was afterward said that he might with great propriety have been assigned to either of two other sections. At two widely separated periods he served as a member of the Council. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in November, 1855. His only contribution to our printed Proceedings was at the meeting in September, 1875, when he read a short paper on "John Lowell and the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights," expressing his utter disbelief in the assertion that Judge Lowell was instrumental in inserting in it the words "all men are born free and equal," for the purpose of applying them to the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, as was afterward done by judicial decision in the case of Quork Walker. A few years earlier, in connection with our late President, Dr. Ellis, he made the arrangements for the course of lectures before the Lowell Institute on "Massachusetts and its Early History," paying into the treasury of the Society the customary fees to the lecturers, and afterward assuming for the benefit of the Society the whole cost of publishing the lectures in a large volume. One other incident connected with his membership should also be mentioned. At the time of the Great Fire of 1872 the notices had already been sent out for holding the November meeting of the Society at Mr. Lowell's house in Park Street, to meet a distinguished Corre-

sponding Member, James A. Froude, who was then giving in Boston his lectures on "The English in Ireland." In that fire Harvard College and Mr. Lowell had lost heavily, and, while the ruins were still smouldering, it occurred to some of the younger members, all of whom had likewise suffered in some degree, that it would be well to postpone the meeting or to omit its social features. When the matter was suggested to Mr. Lowell, his reply was very characteristic. "By no means," he said. "This is no time to show a want of courage. I wish the meeting to be held just as if nothing had occurred." The meeting was accordingly held at the appointed time; and the cordial greeting of the host, and the inspiring words in which Mr. Winthrop told the story of the great fires in Boston in earlier years, made the occasion one of the most memorable in the annals of the Society, and will be readily recalled by the few surviving members who were present that evening.

Mr. Lowell was a close reasoner and the master of a terse and lucid style; but he wrote scarcely anything for publication. In 1848, shortly after the death of Patrick T. Jackson, he prepared for Hunt's "Merchants' Magazine" a very admirable memoir of that gentleman which was reprinted in Hunt's "Lives of American Merchants" and also in the first volume of the "Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell." This sketch gave rise to a small pamphlet, entitled "Correspondence between Nathan Appleton and John A. Lowell in relation to the Early History of the City of Lowell." The correspondence was entirely friendly in character, and grew out of a feeling on the part of Mr. Appleton that his own services in the founding of Lowell had been underrated; but Mr. Lowell disclaimed any intention to do this, and expressed the opinion that there was no conflict between the facts stated by Mr. Appleton and his own narrative. In 1860 he published, in a pamphlet of moderate size, a trenchant "Review of Mr. Hooper's Pamphlet on Specie Reserves," discussing with great ability and from an experience extending over nearly forty years the question as to the proportionate amount of specie which the banks should keep in their vaults at all times. In the same year he contributed to the "Christian Examiner" a review of Darwin on the Origin of Species, contending that the facts then established

did not warrant a belief in the theory of natural selection and the transmutation of species.

After arriving at maturity, Mr. Lowell made four or five visits to Europe, some of them of considerable length. The first was for business purposes, about the time that he began business on his own account. It was when the great fall in prices occurred with which every one familiar with the economic history of England in this century is acquainted, and which Mr. Lowell more than once aptly described as "the appalling reduction of prices, consequent upon the resumption of specie payments by the Bank of England." His later visits were made many years afterward, and were purely for rest and recreation, though he did not fail to continue the studies in which he was most interested, and to add to his botanical collections.

He was married, February 14, 1822, to his cousin, Susan Cabot Lowell, who died at Cambridge, August 15, 1827, after a long illness, aged twenty-six, leaving a daughter and one son, our late associate, the second Judge Lowell. On April 2, 1829, he was married to Elizabeth Cabot Putnam, who died February 12, 1881. By her he had four children, a son and three daughters. Of his married life we have a pleasing picture by our late associate Rev. Henry W. Foote, minister of King's Chapel, in an article printed in the "Unitarian Review," for February, 1882. "In his early manhood," says Mr. Foote, "a happy marriage with the sister of his friend and kinsman, the founder of the Lowell Institute, had soon been darkened by the bereavement which left him still a very young man, with little children. His second marriage, with a daughter of Judge Samuel Putnam, was a most fortunate and indeed an ideal union with one who was able to share his life fully, and to make his home the centre to a great company of kindred and friends, on whom her memory falls like the sunshine and the dews of heaven, with light and healing, though in silence. They had the same birthday, and lived more than fifty years together; and the same year which saw the breaking of the tie on earth which had passed its golden bound saw it also joined again where there is no more parting. The shadows of age had fallen about Mr. Lowell, and the sorrow which left him lonely; but his undimmed mind and heart made his friends forget that he had passed

fourscore. His brief illness was but the natural failure of age, its shadows tempered by a patience and sweetness which took from them their darkness." Mr. Lowell had experienced in 1849 a slight attack of paralysis, from which he quickly recovered, bearing no other trace from it than a difficulty in holding his pen, which he was accustomed to call "the writer's palsy." In the autumn of 1881 he had another attack, under which he gradually failed, and ten days afterward peacefully breathed his last, October 31, within a few days of the close of his eighty-third year. Of his six children, five survived him at that advanced age.

In his theological opinions, he was a Unitarian of the old school, and steadfastly adhered to the doctrines of which his father had been so eminent and influential an advocate. For sixteen years he was a vestryman, and for two years a warden, of King's Chapel; and during the summer he was for many years a regular attendant at the First Church in Roxbury, of which his friend Rev. Dr. George Putnam was minister. His interest in King's Chapel was further shown by the gift, in 1862, of the beautiful stained glass windows in the chancel, which he bought in Munich, in one of his visits to Europe; and he also, with his sisters, caused a mural monument with a bust of his father to be placed on the south wall of the chapel.

Mr. Lowell was utterly without political ambition; and neither sought nor would accept public office. Naturally reserved and possessing in an unusual degree that great gift of knowing when to remain silent, which John Adams ascribed to Washington, no man was ever less inclined to advertise himself. Always avoiding, as far as was possible, the glare of publicity, he was as unostentatious in giving as he was in other matters, scarcely allowing one hand to know what the other did; but the aggregate amount of his public and private benefactions was large, even in proportion to his ample means. Of both time and money he gave freely, but quietly. To the men of his own age, or nearly so, whose opinions and plans he felt compelled to oppose, he was not always conciliatory in manner. But to young men who had occasion to consult him on any doubtful matter, he was frank and cordial, while never patronizing in tone or manner. His conversation and personal reminiscences were always interesting and instructive. Until

within a short time of his death, says Mr. Foote, it was "his custom to rise long before the winter's dawn, and lighting his fire and lamp to secure uninterrupted quiet for the studies which task a robust mind, like the higher mathematics, for example, while later in the day the best literature was his pastime." He seldom erred in his judgment of other men, reading their characters as from an open book with the pages of which he had long been familiar. He had a broad and firm grasp of every question with which he had to deal, and his conclusions were clear and sound. Something of the harshness of the Puritan character of New England showed on the surface, but back of it was a stern, unbending integrity and a quick sense of justice. He was always a loyal and devoted friend. Exact and methodical in his own habits, he required equal exactness in others. His hand-writing, so clean-cut and legible, was no faint index to the man. He was a business man of rare sagacity, a lover of science and the classics, a close student of modern literature, and a mathematician of a high order; and the name which three successive generations of his family had already made honorable and conspicuous lost none of its brightness through his long, crowded, and upright life.

MEMOIR

OF

AMOS ADAMS LAWRENCE.

BY WILLIAM LAWRENCE.

AMOS ADAMS LAWRENCE, the second son of Amos and Sarah (Richards) Lawrence, was born in Boston, July 31, 1814.

For several generations descendants of John Lawrence, of Wisset, Suffolk County, England, had lived in Groton, Massachusetts.

Samuel Lawrence, the grandfather of Amos Adams Lawrence, was a Groton farmer, deacon, and justice of the peace. On the night of April 19, 1775, he responded to the call from Lexington, and marched with his company under Colonel Prescott to Cambridge. At the battle of Bunker Hill he received a bullet through his beaver hat, and was also struck in the arm by a grape shot.

In 1807 Amos, the fourth son of Major Samuel Lawrence, drove to Boston with twenty dollars in his pocket and entered business. He was soon able to encourage his brother Abbott to join him as junior partner, and within a few years the firm of A. & A. Lawrence was one of the leading mercantile houses of the city.

Failing health compelled Mr. Amos Lawrence to retire from the firm, and, having earned a name for business ability and integrity, he gave the remaining years of his life to philanthropy and the encouragement of educational institutions.

In life and character, Amos Adams Lawrence, the second son of Amos, was the worthy fruit of the stock from which he sprang.

His early years were passed at school in Boston and Andover. The death of his mother in his childhood and the infirm health of his father left him much alone. He had a



J. A. J. Wilcox, Sc.

faithfully Yours
Amos A. Lawrence

sensitive nature, and the hardships and injustice of Mr. Putnam's School at Andover so harassed him that he ran away. He was brought back, however, and after a humble apology, remained. His religious spirit, love of nature, sense of honor, and interest in the affairs of men are revealed in a journal which he kept from boyhood to the day of his death.

He graduated from Harvard College in 1835, and a few days later entered upon his business career.

An extract from his diary, written while he was a senior in college, reveals some of the ambitions of his life. The consistency with which he held to the details of this record is rather remarkable. "My present design is to be a merchant, not a plodding, narrow-minded one pent up in a city, with my mind always in my counting-room, but (if there be such a thing possible) I would be at the same time a literary man in some measure and a farmer. That is, I would live in the country a few miles from town (excepting when devoted to business, which would be the forenoons), and there I would read and work on my farm. . . ."

On account of his father's retirement from the firm, Mr. Lawrence on leaving college found no opening ready, but at once began to build up a business of his own.

In 1843 he with Mr. Robert M. Mason founded the firm of Mason & Lawrence, and became the selling agents of the Cocheco and Salmon Falls Manufacturing Companies. Some years later Mr. Mason withdrew from the firm, and Mr. Lawrence associated others with himself in the firm of Lawrence & Co.

His family associations as well as his own tastes and abilities soon brought him into many positions of responsibility. He became a trustee of the Provident Institution for Savings, a director in the Suffolk Bank and many other corporations, and a trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital; he took part also in many other philanthropic and social activities, and wrote occasional articles for the papers on financial subjects. An anonymous pamphlet upon "The Conditions and Prospects of American Cotton Manufacture in 1849-50," reprinted from Hunt's "Merchants' Magazine," was from his hand. Having a somewhat mature judgment, he was thrown much among men older than himself, thus gaining wisdom and experience; at the same time a marked trait was his con-

fidence in younger men, which so increased in later life that he was quick to test, encourage, and promote them.

Mr. Lawrence was pre-eminently a business man. His mercantile responsibilities were heavy, and he recognized his duty to them, never allowing his interest in public matters and philanthropic enterprises to interfere with them.

One would not, however, begin to catch the spirit of Mr. Lawrence's life if he should judge of him simply as a business man. Though holding steadily to the routine of his office, and making quick decisions on questions of large importance in the mercantile world, he carried in his mind and near to his heart many broader interests, and to these he gave freely of his life and money. The spirit of patriotism which sent Samuel Lawrence to Bunker Hill burned in the grandson.

Conservative by temperament, bound in honor to take his part in sustaining the Union, Mr. Lawrence had no sympathy with what he felt to be the lawless and dangerous spirit of the abolitionists. He had, however, even less sympathy with those who were disposed in the critical years before the late war to let things drift and submit to the increase of the power of the Slave States. When, therefore, upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, the question arose as to whether Kansas should become a slave State or a free State, Mr. Lawrence saw that there was an opportunity for effective work in the restriction of the slave power by lawful means. He became the Treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Society, whose purpose was to encourage and aid the emigration of northern citizens to Kansas and thus assure her freedom.

To this work he gave freely of his money and enthusiasm. He raised contributions in Boston and elsewhere, giving thousands of dollars himself. He conferred with the agents, and when the people arrived in Kansas he corresponded with the leaders and defended them and the Society by letters to public men in Washington.

So grateful were the citizens of the settlement of Wakarusa, Kansas, to Mr. Lawrence that they insisted upon giving his name to the place. In spite of his protests, the announcement was made to him in a letter from a committee of the citizens: "We thought that one who, in the darkest hours of the grand enterprise, stepped nobly forth to urge on its lagging energies and nerve it with the firm 'sinews of war,' and who

entered without the hope or expectation of remuneration, was worthy of lasting remembrance. It is for these, with other reasons, dear sir, that we have taken the liberty of calling our already important place Lawrence."

During the Kansas struggle Mr. Lawrence was always urgent that those with whom he had influence should not resist the lawful authorities. He wrote: "Your best friends would advise you, if their opinion was asked, not under any circumstances to resist any legal representative of the United States, nor allow our people to do it. That would put you wrong before the country, and more than anything else take from you the nationality which you now hold."

Some years earlier he had some business transactions with John Brown, and his Kansas experience brought them into closer relations. Although Mr. Lawrence had no sympathy with John Brown's methods, he had a strong interest in the man, and from time to time helped him and his family in their financial difficulties.

When Brown was arrested at Harper's Ferry, it was reported that he might not have a fair trial. Mr. Lawrence immediately joined with others in offering to engage able counsel, and at the same time he wrote to Governor Wise urging a fair trial, and adding: "Captain Brown has the qualities which endear him to our people, and his sudden execution would send a thrill of horror through the whole North. From his blood would spring an army of martyrs, all eager to die in the cause of human liberty. I am sure that I express the desire of all conservative men here, when I beg you to insist on a fair trial."

His comment after the conviction was, "If they hang Old Brown, Virginia will be a free State sooner than they expect. He has played his part grandly, though the plot of the play is a poor one."

His political inheritance as a Whig and his conservative temperament led Mr. Lawrence to stand by the National Union Party in the election of 1860, and he even allowed his name to be used as candidate upon that ticket as Governor of Massachusetts, though there was no shadow of a chance of his election.

As soon as the first gun of the war was fired, Mr. Lawrence threw himself heart and soul into the defence of the Union.

He had always been a supporter of the militia, and for months had joined with them in military drill. He took great interest in the corps of students of Harvard College, riding over from his home in Longwood to drill them, and when a number of them enlisted he followed their careers with affectionate interest.

When he, with Mr. John M. Forbes, was asked by Governor Andrew to recruit the Second Cavalry, he took up the duty with his usual enthusiasm. The clink of the sabre was heard in his business office as he gave some young officer his first lessons in swordsmanship. He joined with other citizens in any movement that looked toward the strengthening of the army, the comfort of the soldiers, and the relief of the wounded.

When the war was over, it was his grateful duty to his college and his country to take an active part in the erection of Memorial Hall, Cambridge.

Mr. Lawrence had also that trait of American Citizenship which recognizes the importance of the education of the people.

His Kansas sympathy led him to encourage the foundation of an academy at Lawrence, and for that purpose he gave \$10,000. Although the original plans were not carried out, the fund formed the nucleus of the State University now established at Lawrence, Kansas.

An interest in certain lands in Wisconsin caused him to feel a sense of responsibility towards the people there which resulted in the foundation by his gift of Lawrence University at Appleton.

Lawrence Academy at Groton, Williams College, the schools in Brookline, and other institutions received a share of his interest. For several years he was Treasurer of Harvard College, and later an Overseer. Though not a scholar, he had sympathy with scholarship, a love of letters, and an interest in history which made him a worthy member of this Historical Society from 1861 to his death. To him the Society is largely indebted for the valuable Heath papers and a large part of its collection of the literature of the Rebellion.

The richest and deepest vein in Mr. Lawrence's character was his Christian faith.

He came of pious ancestry. His journal breathes with

religious aspirations. True to New England's piety, he was often introspective and morbid. While resting his hope solely on the merits of his Saviour, he was full of the spirit of good works, and had no sympathy with that mystic faith which does not lead to the love of one's neighbor and to practical deeds of sympathy and succor.

Although his father was a conservative Unitarian, Mr. Lawrence became a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was active in the Sunday-school, and an officer of St. Paul's Church, Brookline, as well as of the Church of Our Saviour, Longwood.

He had a large sympathy with the work of Christians of other names. His gifts recognized no denominational bounds, and he counted among his nearest friends the leading ministers of many Christian bodies.

With his brother William, he built a stone church at Longwood in memory of their father which was their spiritual home during the last years of their lives.

He also took an active interest in the foundation and up-building of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, and gave a Hall to commemorate God's goodness to him and his family.

This brief account of the chief interests of Mr. Lawrence's life has been given in the hope of revealing some of his leading characteristics, his business ability, patriotism, public spirit, his devotion to educational interests, and his sympathy with all that pointed towards the elevation of his fellow-men.

The temper of his life may perhaps be best felt by a record of a typical day as given in his journal.

"June 10. My daily duties sometimes press hard. First I rise and dress, say my own prayers, and prayers with some of my children. Before seven the triangle is struck for family prayers in the library. Breakfast at seven. Lay out work for men afterwards. Off on horseback at eight. Visit the contractors who are building for me about here and the laborers on the grounds. Then to Cambridge, oftenest to look after new work or old — just now the new house for president, and refitting the Brattle House; or to meet the president or steward or some one of the professors on their business; or to review the college 'troops.' Then to Boston by half-past nine. Here are all sorts of business, commercial, philanthropic, political; besides building of three large stores, and a carriage factory, and drilling my company daily.

This pushes me hard until after three, when I get on my horse again and reach home a little late for dinner. Then read the news, and rest until I turn out to inspect my garden and workmen, or to take my wife to drive in my country wagon. All assemble at quarter before eight o'clock at tea. Children's bed-time and prayers with them at half-past eight. Then a nap, and reading or writing until eleven or twelve. There is a great scarcity of employment, and I have taken about thirty-five men to dig over my marshes, then to haul gravel for them, then to cover with loam, and sow grass seed."

He was quick to respond to calls for aid and to ask for the help of others in causes of charity. To carry a subscription paper for Professor Agassiz's museum, a Western missionary, the Greeks struggling for liberty, or for the sufferers from a mill disaster was a duty that seemed to fall naturally to him.

A memoir, however short, would be incomplete if it did not emphasize certain features of Mr. Lawrence's life of an even more personal character.

In 1842 he married Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. William Appleton. Seven children were born. So happy and unbroken was the family that on Thanksgiving Day forty years later Mr. Lawrence was able to write, "In the afternoon assembled all our children and grandchildren, all who have been born to us. How remarkable, after nearly forty years of married life, to have health and life continued — twenty-five in all."

His love of nature led him a few years after his marriage to make his home outside the city; and his attractive winter, autumn, and summer houses at Longwood, Waban Hill in Newton, Lynn, and later at Nahant were the centres of his deep affection. Having known but little of a mother's care and the pleasures of family life in his youth, he was the more anxious that his children should have their joys in their fulness.

He rode horseback almost every day for fifty years, and his figure was a familiar one to members of communities in which he lived. His talk along the roadside with the laborers, his visits to the poor, sick, and afflicted, his cheery word to the passing schoolchildren, created numberless bonds of sympathy with the people among whom he lived. A sense of humor and a somewhat homely form of speech gave an individual flavor to his talk, and made him approachable by all sorts and conditions of men.

Chastened towards the end by partial blindness, he bore these heavier burdens with touching resignation. They served to move him to a more active sympathy with those in similar troubles.

On the 22d of August, 1886, Amos Adams Lawrence died suddenly at his summer home at Nahant. He left the inheritance of a good citizen, a devoted patriot, a successful business man, a sympathetic friend, and a man of Christian faith.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., at the house of Mr. William S. Appleton, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved, and the list of donors to the Library was also read.

Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said:—

I am about to deal as briefly as may be with a variety of subjects, to some of which I should have called attention long ere this if a suitable opportunity had offered. In the first place, I wish to explain that I was prevented by a sore throat from being present at the October meeting, when I was expected to say something about Theodore Lyman, but I regretted it the less when I read in the following Serial the appropriate tributes then paid to him by Mr. Lothrop and Mr. Chase, to say nothing of the entertaining reminiscences of him uttered by the President in December. It happens, however, that neither in the remarks of these three gentlemen, nor in any obituary notice of Lyman, so far as I met with them, was any allusion made to two important contributions of his to local historical literature. One of them, a pamphlet of seventy-three pages issued in 1870, and entitled "Papers relating to the Garrison Mob," is a work which no student of the development of the Antislavery movement in this neighborhood should fail to ponder. The other, a pamphlet of thirty-two pages issued in 1881, is a highly interesting memoir of his father, the second Theodore Lyman, which was prepared in the first instance for the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and is also to be found in one of their volumes.

Publications of this nature are apt after a while to be lost sight of, and as it may be long before a memoir of Lyman himself appears, I think it advisable to make a passing allusion to these two productions, in order that a reference to them may be found in the index to that volume of our Proceedings which will contain the notice of his death, for they are not only well worth reading, but of permanent value.

In the second place, I found some time ago among the papers of James Bowdoin, an elder brother of my father, and in his day an active member of this Society, a copy taken by him in 1823 of a manuscript then in possession of Hon. John Phillips, who died in that year, and whether or not the original is now in existence I am unable to say. It was apparently prepared for insertion in a London newspaper in the spring of 1775, and it gives a by no means flattering description of some leading members of the Revolutionary party in Boston. On account of its personalities I at first hesitated to communicate it here, but I am advised that, as nearly a century and a quarter has elapsed since it was written, and in view of many sharp expressions which have found their way into print concerning prominent Loyalists, there is no harm in occasionally drawing attention to language used on the other side. It reads as follows:—

LONDON, 18 April, 1775.

As the true Sons of Liberty in Boston always make it a rule to publish the names and affix the characters of those whom they may vote inimical to their favorite Cause, it may not be amiss, by way of tit for tat, to give the public a list of sixty-three persons who were appointed to carry into execution in the Town of Boston the agreement and association of the respectable Continental Congress.¹ As the characters that follow are known to be just by many people in this City, and universally in Boston, the author makes no apology for introducing them in this public manner:—

THOMAS CUSHING. A distiller of spirits and Speaker of the Mass. House of Commons. A dealer in cannon and other warlike stores; also a manager of lotteries that yielded immense sums unaccounted for.

¹ The list of persons so appointed is to be found printed in the Eighteenth Report of the Record Commissioners of Boston, pages 206, 207. It contains but sixty-two names, that of Edward Davis having perhaps been omitted by accident. In printing this Circular two names have purposely been left blank, but the one to which the words "torn and illegible" are prefixed is undoubtedly that of John Winthrop, Jr., eldest son of Professor John Winthrop of Harvard, and at the date of this appointment twenty-seven years of age.

SAMUEL ADAMS. Formerly a collector of taxes and largely in debt to the Town of Boston. The principal spring and manager of plots and conspiracies against the State; — famous for smoking bacon and always shudders at the sight of hemp.

JOHN HANCOCK. A merchant; orator and milch cow to the Faction, but whether public spirit or vanity has been his governing spirit is uncertain.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS. A deacon of the Old South meeting, an occasional Moderator at Town meetings; formality and a Presbyterian face are his ornaments.

THOMAS MARSHALL. Tailor, a very brave man, as no one questions his courage on pain of being pricked by his bodkin; also a great scholar and well-versed in the languages.

JOHN PITTS. A Selectman, wise prudent and discerning, very fond of soft music. Prompter to the Provincial Congress.

OLIVER WENDELL. Oilman, a very worthy man.

SAMUEL AUSTIN. A Selectman. By his connections it's tho't that cyder may make good wine.

BENJAMIN AUSTIN. Ropemaker, very officious in politics and a rejected Councillor.

CALEB DAVIS. Shopkeeper, a new-made deacon, but in trade esteemed an honest man.

WILLIAM DAVIS. Merchant, of small importance and great conceit.

WILLIAM WHITWELL. A bone-cutter, key-keeper in the time of the last mock non-importation, and of a jesuitical turn.

SAMUEL BARRETT. Shopkeeper, a prime politician.

JONATHAN MASON. A brazier, of a dark, surly countenance, the true index of his mind.

JOHN BRADFORD. Mariner, a brave and valiant sea-commander, only a little bashful, which is well known to the underwriters in London.

JOHN BROWN. A Wigmaker.

WILLIAM POWELL. Merchant, a high Son of Liberty, if abusive language and assurance entitle a person to that character.

RICHARD BOYNTON. Blacksmith, a deacon and excessive smooth and civil in conversation.

—— Mariner, mean-spirited, swearing and silly, very amorous with kitchen furniture.

ELIAS PARKMAN. Shopkeeper, an impudent boy.

JOHN AVERY, JUN^r. Son-in-law to the Speaker of the Mass. H^o of Commons and formerly a mob secretary.

EZEKIEL CHEEVER. Distiller, a low proof.

EDWARD PROCTER. A retailer of lemons and Oliverian principles.

JAMES IVERS. An idle politician.

EBENEZER HANCOCK. Brazier, brother to Orator John.

WILLIAM GREENLEAF. Auctioneer, very soft and pretty in his address, but is not without bad humors.

————— Leather dresser, a very bony man. N. B. Horns on his sign-post.

HERMAN BRIMMER. Shopkeeper, a sudden deserter from the Church of England, a candidate for deacon at Dr Chauncy's, alias Hugh Peter's, meeting. N. B. Sings well.

MARTIN BRIMMER. Apothecary, civil and well-esteemed.

PETER BOYER. Dealer, in partnership with Major Thompson, clerk to the Provincial Congress.

BENJAMIN CHURCH. Physician, well versed in the art of canting, a qualification requisite for a delegate.

JOSEPH WARREN. Ditto.

JOSEPH GREENLEAF. Retailer of pamphlets, formerly a Justice of the peace, but broken for malpractices.

BENJAMIN WALDO. Mariner, a surly humdrum Son of Liberty.

JOHN PULLING. Bully of the Mohawk tribe.

PAUL REVERE. Silversmith. Ambassador from the Committee of Correspondence of Boston to the Congress at Philadelphia.

[*torn and illegible*] Alias Joyce Junior, Chairman of the Committee for tarring and feathering, who is now strolling in the West Indies.

NATHANIEL NOYES. A trifling apothecary, whose medicines, like himself, are without virtue, — well known among the butchers for buying lean meat.

SAMUEL PITTS. Fishmonger, formerly a salmon-catcher at Indian harbour.

CAPTAIN RUDDOCK. Supposed to be one Abiel Ruddock, formerly head of the mob on the 5th of November.

CHARLES JARVIS. Physician, a turn-coat and of no consequence.

THOMAS CHASE. Retailer, well known under Liberty Tree in the time of the Stamp Act.

NATHANIEL BARBER. Insurance broker, remarkable for bullying and rioting.

FORTESQUE VERNON. A broken merchant one day, whole one the next.

JOB PRINCE. Mariner, remarkable for his pretended hospitality to strangers.

CALEB HOPKINS. Ditto, a Northern politician, talks on both sides the question occasionally.

MOSES GILL. Brazier, a great Puritan, but without religion.

THOMAS BOYLSTON. Merchant, one who loves his money better than his country, largely concerned in the slave trade.

JOHN MARSTON. Publican, keeper of a gaming-house, very tyrannical and oppressive.

NORMAN GREENOUGH. Sailmaker, whose house was built by unrighteousness.

MOSES GRANT. Feather-seller. A cashiered Cadet for abusing one of the Commissioners of his Maj^{ties} Customs.

FOSTER CONDY. Shopkeeper, broken for the same crime.

HENRY BROMFIELD. One who talks much and does little.

CYRUS BALDWIN. Shopkeeper, of little consequence and strongly suspected to be a Roman Catholic.

BOSSINGER FOSTER. Retailer of spirits and very warm in politics.

ISAAC PIERCE. Victualler, a person of little consequence.

ENOCH BROWN. Retailer, said to be in partnership with a certain auctioneer of whom he buys many bargains.

JOSEPH EAYRES. Carpenter, eminent for erecting Liberty poles.

HENRY BASS. A very important man in his own opinion and a grindstone-factor.

SAMUEL PARTRIDGE. Mariner, a busy, empty, foolish town officer.

JOSHUA BRACKETT. Publican, well known under Cromwell's Head. [School Street, J. B.]

JONATHAN WILLIAMS. Merchant, Moderator of the Old South meeting, often troubled with qualms of conscience.

EDWARD DAVIS. Pedler, a tatler and minds everybody's business but his own.

Indorsed : Copied by J. B. *currente calamo*, March 21, 1823, from a MS. loaned him by Thomas W. Phillips, whose father, Hon. John Phillips, found it among the papers of Solomon Read.

In editing for the Society selections from the papers of Governor Bowdoin and his son-in-law, Sir John Temple, Mr. Smith and I were not called on to consider the advisability of printing this circular, as it came from a different source. The selections made by us from material within our purview ended with the year 1782, and as a long interval may elapse before later ones find their way into the Collections, I have decided to contribute to the Proceedings three isolated letters, which bear no relation to each other, nor to any other manuscripts in the volume from which they are taken. I accordingly communicate, in the third place, the following one from James Bowdoin in Boston to Benjamin Franklin in Paris, introducing a young architect whose name has been much on people's lips of late years, and who was warmly eulogized by our associate Governor Wolcott, at the recent centennial celebration at the State House : —

James Bowdoin to Benjamin Franklin.

BOSTON, June 4, 1785.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — The young gentleman by whom this line will be delivered to you is M^r Charles Bulfinch, the nephew of our late friend Doctor Cooper, and son of my worthy friend D^r Bulfinch. He expects to be in Europe about a year, and having a very strong desire of being introduced to so distinguished a character as D^r Franklin, requested a line for that purpose. He is a sensible, well educated young gentleman, having had y^e honours of our University confer^d on him. I beg leave to recomēd him to yo^r notice and friendship, & am with all possible regard, D^r Sir,

Yo^r most ob^t humble Serv^tJAMES BOWDOIN.¹His Exc^y BENJ^A FRANKLIN, Esq.

I communicate, in the fourth place, the following letter to James Bowdoin from George Washington, written only ten days after the latter's first inauguration, and which till recently I had supposed to be in print; but I have searched in vain for any notice of it by historians, and it has even escaped the drag-net of that enterprising compiler whose ambition has been to publish more volumes about Washington than our former Vice-President, Jared Sparks, an achievement due in no inconsiderable degree — so at least it is asserted — to a persistent appropriation of Mr. Sparks's notes. An important passage in the letter in question is cited, it is true, in my father's Address on laying the Corner-stone of the Washington Monument in 1848; but as this address is to be found only in a volume which unfortunately has no index, it seems to me both convenient and appropriate that the entire letter should now be printed in the Proceedings, where it will always be accessible. Several earlier ones already published, to Bowdoin from Washington, are wholly in the latter's hand; but this bears only his signature and frank.

*George Washington to James Bowdoin.*NEW YORK, May 9th 1789.

SIR, — Since my arrival in this place I have been honored with your letters of the 18th of Feb^y and 24th of April. To meet the congratulations and assurances of support from those Characters whose opinions

¹ Printed from Bowdoin's rough draft.

I revere, will be no small service in enabling me to overcome the diffidence which I have in my own abilities to execute properly the important and untried task which my Country has assigned me.

No part of my duty will be more delicate, — and, in many instances, more unpleasing, — than that of nominating or appointing persons to offices. It will undoubtedly often happen that there will be several candidates for the same office whose pretensions, abilities and integrity may be nearly equal — and who will come forward so equally supported in every respect as almost to require the aid of supernatural intuition to fix upon the right. I shall, however, in all events, have the satisfaction to reflect that I entered upon my administration unconfined by a single engagement, — uninfluenced by any ties of blood or friendship, — and with the best intentions and fullest determination to nominate to office those persons only, who, upon every consideration, were the most deserving, — and who would probably execute their several functions to the interest and credit of the American Union, — if such characters could be found by my exploring every avenue of information respecting their merits and pretensions that it was in my power to obtain.

With great respect & esteem, I am, Sir

Your most Obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t,

G. WASHINGTON.

The Hon^{ble} JAMES BOWDOIN.

I proceed to communicate, in the fifth place, a letter to Bowdoin in the following year from another Revolutionary patriot, though of a different sex and of a lesser fame, but one who 'cultivated the Muses more assiduously than the preceding writer had either leisure or inclination to do, — I mean Mercy Warren, whose somewhat tart but very entertaining correspondence with John Adams at a later period we long ago printed, and who was then for the first time contemplating the publication of her dramatic and miscellaneous poems.

Mercy Warren to James Bowdoin.

S. BOSTON SQUARE, June 28th 1790.

SIR, — My confidence in your friendship & my respect for your judgment lead me to submit to your perusal a few pieces designed for publication, if not better advised by so good a judge. I feel myself very diffident, though encouraged by my friends to embark on the sea of public opinion, but I yet shrink at the idea & keep my mind open to the strictest scrutiny of friendship & candor.

I might show them to many who would criticise, to others who might flatter, the one without friendship, the other without sincerity; but

your opinion, Sir, which I am confident will be the result of both, will lead me readily to suppress any of them which you may think will neither be pleasing to the public eye or honourary to one, who would not have preferred this interruption did she not feel more assured of your friendship than that of any other gentleman of literature and taste in this Capital.

With respect & esteem I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

M. WARREN.

My best compliments to Mr^s Bowdoin.

As soon as Mr Bowdoin's leisure will permit, he will return the papers with his observations to his obliged Friend.

It is an embarrassing position for a public man to find himself suddenly confronted by a flattering appeal from an elderly female friend to pass judgment on her poetical effusions; and in this instance the delicacy of the situation was enhanced by the consideration obviously due to the sister of James Otis, the wife of James Warren, and the intimate correspondent of Abigail Adams. Governor Bowdoin was then much out of health, — in fact, he died a few months later, — but his habitual caution did not desert him, and apparently within an hour he despatched by private hand the following diplomatic answer, the rough draft of which I find on a blank page of the letter itself: —

James Bowdoin to Mercy Warren.

Mr Bowdoin presents his most respectful compliments to Mr^s Warren and acquaints her that in the afternoon, or to-morrow morning, he is to proceed on a journey into Connecticut & to the Western parts of Massachusetts, where he will be happy to execute any of Mr^s Warren's commands. He thinks himself very unfortunate that he is obliged to forego the pleasure of reading the manuscript poems which accompanied her polite billet of this morning. With great reluctance he now returns them, but he promises himself no small entertainment upon their publication, which he hopes will soon take place, being assured it will be no discredit to American Genius.

Mr^s Bowdoin with her best compliments hopes for the pleasure of seeing Mr^s Warren.

MONDAY, June 28th

I desire, lastly, to turn back to a period more in my line than the Revolutionary, and to communicate, in the sixth

place, copies of two recently identified letters to Fitz-John Winthrop from Abraham Pierson, first head of what is now Yale University, who, it may be remembered, took his degree at Harvard in 1668, his father of the same name having been a graduate of English Cambridge. There are many letters to John Winthrop the younger from the elder Abraham Pierson, and these of his son having been accidentally mixed with them were lost sight of. Since the last meeting I have sent the originals to New Haven, where there is a modern statue of the writer, but very little of his handwriting. Indeed, it is doubtful whether there exist more than three specimens of his private correspondence, two of them being the letters I have just named, and the other an earlier one to Increase Mather, printed by us in 1868, and now, I believe, in the Boston Public Library. Some time ago I gave a similar destination to several equally rare letters of the father and other near relatives of Elihu Yale, and I then learned, from our Corresponding Member Franklin B. Dexter, that Yale Library was lamentably deficient in autographs of personages associated with early Connecticut history, and I accordingly sent thither last spring between sixty and seventy manuscripts, mostly printed at different times by us, including letters from John Davenport, Theophilus Eaton, George Fenwick, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Hooker, and other fathers of that Colony, as well as of Lion Gardiner, Roger Williams, Sir Edmund Andros, and other persons more or less connected with it. In separating documents from the mass of the Winthrop Papers, and presenting them to different libraries, I have generally mentioned the matter at some meeting, in order that their whereabouts might be indexed in our Proceedings; and I take this opportunity of adding that, at the request of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, I have recently given to that institution a bundle of papers connected with Governor Winthrop's law-practice prior to 1630. Other law papers of his are described in the first volume of his Life, but these were laid aside as of no importance and difficult to decipher. On examination, however, by officials of the Public Record Office and other experts, it appears that they possess some local and genealogical value, besides throwing, here and there, additional light upon English customs in the early Stuart period. I do not think this Society would be interested in the transcripts

sent out to me, with possibly a single exception, a paper indorsed in 1629, "Broth^r Fones Debts."

Thomas Fones had married for his first wife the eldest of Governor Winthrop's three sisters, and owned a small estate in Suffolk; but he was better known as a fashionable apothecary in London, where the sign of his shop, the "Three Fawnes," in the Old Bailey, was a familiar object in the reign of James I. In settling his estate his assets in cash are described in this schedule partly as money "owing to the testator," and partly as money "due by the shop-booke," the same names figuring to some extent on both lists. This distinction puzzled me until I was reminded of a fact which other members may also have forgotten, that the word "apothecary" was then the legal designation of the mass of the medical profession, — those whom we now style "general practitioners," — who might or might not keep a shop for the sale of drugs, and thus the money due directly to the testator was for attendance on his patients, while the indebtedness in the shop-book was for medicines supplied by his assistants. A further column is devoted to funeral and other charges, but unfortunately the fee paid for what is termed "the sermon at the buriall" is lumped with the undertaker's bill and some incidental items, so that we are quite in the dark as to what this particular parson received for services which in our own day are too often left without any compensation whatever. Nor are we much enlightened as to legal charges, for, owing to the relationship, Governor Winthrop appears to have settled the estate gratis; but the fees for proving the Will in the Prerogative Court amount to what would now be the equivalent of forty-seven dollars, these gentlemen of the Record Office assuring me that money was then worth nearly ten times its present value. Two separate items they consider curious, one for "mourning apparell," — which would, I imagine, include not merely garments, but gloves, hat-bands, and perhaps rings, — set down at the present equivalent of nearly two thousand dollars; the other for "comfetts, wine and sugar at the funerall," set down at fully the equivalent of one thousand dollars. Such an expenditure might not then have been noteworthy in the case of a man of rank and fortune, but it has excited surprise that it should have been incurred, apparently by his own direction, at the funeral of Thomas Fones, who was comfortably off rather than rich, and

whose social position can hardly be rated higher than that of what is now termed the upper middle class.

The letters of Abraham Pierson above referred to here follow: —

For the Honorable Left: general Fitts John Winthrop, att his house in New-London, these.

HONORED SIR, — The grateful remembrance of your worthy and honored father Governour Winthrop of blessed memory, and the great kindnesse which he was wont to expresse to my father's family, doth abundantly oblige me to offer my service and respect (though at present unacquainted) to yourselfe, his honorable son, and to congratulate your saife returne, with thanckful acknowledgement of your faithful Agency in England in behalfe of this Colony, where now of late my residence hath bin. Your prudent and successeful management of that Affaire doth make it highly reasonable that we render thancks and praise to God, the Author of all our good, and acknowledge our obligations to yourselfe, whom he hath bin pleased to make instrumental therein. Now, Sir, that you may be spirited for and made further serviceable, unto the great interest of the glory of God, and the publique weal of this Colony, is the prayer of, Sir,

Your Servant,

ABRAH: PIERSON.

KALLINWORTH, Febr: 25: 9 $\frac{1}{2}$:

Indorsed by F. J. W.: M^r Abrah^m Pierson. Feb: 25: 169 $\frac{7}{8}$.

For Coll: John Winthrope Esquire, Governour of her Majesties Colony of Connecticutt, at his house in New London, these.

HONOURED SIR, — My humble service to your Honour and Madam Winthrope premised. I have occasion for some cedar-shingles, not to dispose of, but for my use. The errand therefore of these lines is to request your Honours allowance of my getting them in your cedar-swamp in the Bounds of Say-Brook. The sicknesse is said still to go on at New Haven and Milford, and divers there lately dead, and tis reported that Madam Treat is dead. I intreat an intimation by the next opportunity of your Honours pleasure in reference to the premises, and you shall oblige, Honoured Sir,

Your humble servant,

ABRAH: PIERSON.

KALLINWORTH, Novemb: 8: 703.

Indorsed by F. J. W.: M^r Pierson. Nov. 8th 1703.

The Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT referred briefly to a sermon which, at the request of the Quincy Historical Society, he had

delivered in commemoration of the life and services of the late William R. Tyler, Master of Adams Academy, and a member of that Society. The sermon had been sent to the Library by the Society at whose request it was delivered. Mr. Everett also spoke of the strong historical tastes of the first principal of the Academy, the late William R. Dimmock, LL.D., and paid a feeling tribute to his memory.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated four unpublished letters by Dr. Isaac Watts, and said : —

At a meeting of this Society, held on February 14, 1895, numerous letters of Dr. Isaac Watts, brought together from different sources, were the subject of notice ; and copies of them duly appear in the Proceedings. As supplementary to that collection of letters by him, I wish to communicate copies of four others, which were written to President Holyoke of Harvard College. They show Dr. Watts's interest in the welfare of that institution, and in public matters generally, so far as they related to the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The original letters belong to Mr. George E. H. Abbot (H. C. 1860) and Miss Abbot, of Groton, children of the late Reverend Ephraim Abbot (H. C. 1806), whose first wife was a granddaughter of Mr. Holyoke.

REV^d SIR

Your advancement to preside over Harvard College was in my Wish, according to the Character I heard of you during the vacancy. May the alwise & gracious God continue to encrease all those valuable Qualifications in you which recommended you to y^e Electors ! And may that *Integrity & Religion* which you have so happily recommended to the Counsellors of your Province in your late Excellent Sermon, be as mightily prevalent among all the Tutors & Supervisors of y^e Education of youth as among your Civil Magistracy. I know not that ever I read a Sermon on such an Occasion which better pleased me.

The Scandall of y^e Impudent News writer you speak off, is so far disbelieved & Dead, that Coll : Quincy (whom we consulted on this affair) was unanimous with severall of our Brethren in the ministry here, in not publishing an Answer to it in print. We are entirely with you in opinion that w^hsoever Gov^r Belcher is removed from his post, twill be filled with a much less valuable Man : Nor can we imagine what cou'd give occasion to such an odious flalshood, but y^e two chief characters of the Prince of Darkness, i. e. Ambition & Malice.

Alass, for that hon^{ble}. Gentleman Co^{ll} Quincy! I waited on him twice before his experiment began to take effect, & found all that in him which was so high in esteem among you, & therefore I sensibly lamented his Death. His observations of the Great success of Inoculation in N: E. Tempted him to think 'twas the same among us: And his Age renderd his case so dangerous that I Question whether any Physician in London would have putt him upon it. But since he came over resolved, I thought it not safe to say any thing that might sink his Spirits.

Here is a new little book of mine published three days ago w^{ch} now desires a place in your College Library among the Rest of my Writings with acknowledgem^t of y^e honors you do me hereby.

May y^e Great Shep^herd of his Church under Your inspection furnish out many under-shepherds for the flock. And may a Devout zeal for the great & inestimable Doctrines of y^e Gospell, regulated by Rational Principles, & holy Moderation & Love, & A pathetick Desire to save Souls & to promote the Honor of our blessed Lord, be the universall Character of the Students of your College & those whom you send forth into publick ministrations. I know by y^e Temper of your Soul, This is your Wish as well as mine, & may it be ratified in Heaven. Amen.

Your affect^{te} Bro^r

& humble Serv^t

NEWINGTON neer London,
June 1st 1738.

I. WATTS.

[Addressed on the outside]

To the very Rev^d

Mr Edward Holyoke.

President of Harvard College
Cambridge. N: E.

REV^d SIR

I think I did myself y^e honor to answer your kind Letter last year. I send y^e College-Library another of my Labors, & recommend y^e Enclosed pamphlet to your Self, hoping you will there find some modern Difficulties adjusted. May Grace & Peace be ever with you, & under your Presidency May many young Luminaries of y^e Christian Church be traird up for publick Light & Usefullness.

Your most obed^t humble Serv^t

NEWINGTON

June 7th 1739

& Bro^r

I. WATTS.

At the bottom of this letter is an entry made by another person in such a cramped hand, and so much abbreviated, that it cannot be wholly made out. Perhaps it was written by President Holyoke.

NEWINGTON near London.
May 30, 1741.

REV^d SIR

How ever my Inclinations would lead me to converse with you by Letter upon the Honorable Character I have received of you, yet my decline of Health all this Spring constrains me to shorten or drop my Correspondencys; and I can do no more at present than recommend this my Labor of former Years to the peru[s]ual of the students under your Care, it it [*sic*] may be so happy as to obtain your Appropriation.

With my Sincere best wishes for the Success of your Labors in training up a pious and usefull Ministry in America.

I am

Sir

Your Affectionate Brother
and Humble Serv^t

[Addressed on the outside]

To

The Rev^d Mr Holyoke
President of Harvard College
in New England.

I: WATTS.

NEWINGTON Nov^r 15th 1742.

REV^d SIR

God having begun a good work in Scotland in several villages near Glasgow like to that in New England, I was willing that you and the Students under your Care might see something of the Narrative & the vindication thereof; and I send these two Pamphlets for that purpose, for I would do any thing that lyes in my way to help forward y^e Good work: and I may say hitherto they have found but few of those Dishonors mingling with it which can have any tendency to disgrace it.

I am

Sir

with Earnest desires of Success
in your important Post
Your very Humble Serv^t
and Brother

My health is sunk so low
that I am forced to shorten
& contract all my Correspondencies

I WATTS.

[Addressed on the outside]

To

The Rev^d Mr Holyoke
President of
Harvard College
in New England

The following, on a slip of paper, is enclosed in the letter, and was intended doubtless as a postscript : —

I had forgot to mention in my Letter that M^r Brackstone for whom these Books are printed is my nephew, the son of my only Sister, who set up his Trade last year next door to the Royal Exchange.

The PRESIDENT alluded to the harsh treatment of the American Loyalists during the Revolutionary period and subsequent thereto, including as it did persecution, imprisonment, confiscation, and exile ; an episode to which, he said, not enough attention had been paid, — one which, indeed, the patriotic American historian of the earlier time had found it convenient to pass over very gently. Accordingly only during recent years a degree of very tardy justice had been meted out to a class in the eighteenth-century community which, though indeed guilty of the sin of adhering to the wrong as well as the losing cause, in the result sacrificed for principle, and for what those composing it sincerely believed to be the best ultimate interests of a common country, even more than the patriots. He referred to J. K. Hosmer's life of Thomas Hutchinson and to Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's recently published volumes on the Literary History of the American Revolution as furnishing examples of the exercise of an intelligent and judicial historical spirit, in the treatment of the so-called Tories, greatly to be commended ; and he quoted with approval the following estimate of them as a class in the community of that day from Professor Tyler's work (vol. i. p. 303) : —

“ By any standard of judgment, therefore, according to which we usually determine the personal quality of any party of men and women in this world — whether the standard be intellectual, or moral, or social, or merely conventional — the Tories of the Revolution seem to have been not a profligate party, nor an unprincipled one, nor a reckless or even a light-minded one, but, on the contrary, to have had among them a very considerable portion of the most refined, thoughtful, and conscientious people in the colonies. So true is this, that in 1807 a noble-minded Scottish woman, Mistress Anne Grant, of Laggan, who in her early life had been familiar with American colonial society, compared the loss which America suffered in consequence of the expatriation of the Loyalists by the Revolution, to the loss which France suffered in consequence of the expatriation of so many of her Protestants by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.”

The President further said that he referred to the subject now in order to call the attention of the Society to an extremely interesting letter which had been communicated to the Dedham Historical Register by our associate Rev. Edmund F. Slafter.¹ "Every one," he added, "who has ever turned his attention to historical investigation knows how thoroughly exasperating it is to have really valuable bits of evidence hidden away, as it were, in quarters where they are almost inevitably, from the very necessity of the case, overlooked; for no one can, in these days, ransack every repository. The published Proceedings of this Society can, therefore, serve no more useful purpose than in giving clues to these scraps of historical data. Whatever of the sort there finds a place is put upon file and catalogued. Even the not very thorough investigator is, by means of our indexes, almost sure to stumble across it." The letter in question was from Rev. William Clark, incumbent of the Church of England Society in the Massachusetts town of Dedham. It was dated Quincy, March 14, 1803, and the extract in other respects explains itself.

"I was ordained by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Terrick, then Bishop of London, on St. Thomas' day, Dec^r 21, 1768, and returned to Dedham in June, 1769; and in that beloved retirement I lived, as it were, unobserved by the world, till the frenzy of the times at the beginning of the Revolution disturbed my repose. Never man lived more peaceably and quiet; never man meddled less with politics, or was a better friend to Civil and religious liberty than myself. But all would not do. I received a small salary from an Incorporated Society in England, (not from the Government.) '*Hinc illæ lachrymæ!*' This was my crime. After ten weeks close imprisonment at Boston, in the midst of summer, 1777, till my health was nearly ruined, I got leave of the then General Court to return to my own house in Dedham; confined to within one mile of it under bonds of £500 penalty, with two sureties of £250 each. After continuing a year in this way, and seeing no respite, I applied again to the General Court, and obtained permission to leave the Country. I went in a cartel to Newport, and thence to New York, from whence I took passage to England about Christmas following, and, after touching at Ireland, arrived in London, beginning of February, 1779; and was absent fourteen years."

¹ See Dedham Hist. Reg., vol. ix. pp. 13-15.

More or less extended remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, and Messrs. EDWARD J. YOUNG, WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., ALBERT B. HART, ABNER C. GOODELL, Jr., GAMALIEL BRADFORD, SAMUEL A. GREEN, and EDMUND F. SLAFTER.

A new serial number of the Proceedings, comprising the records of the December and January meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.

MARCH MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the February meeting, which was approved, and the list of donors to the Library during the past month, the President announced as the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Messrs. Thornton K. Lothrop, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and Solomon Lincoln; as the Committee to audit the accounts of the Treasurer, Messrs. T. Jefferson Coolidge and James M. Bugbee. He further said that as the Library and Cabinet were now stored, and therefore temporarily inaccessible, the appointment of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet would be deferred until the December meeting.

Mr. James Ford Rhodes was appointed to write the memoir of the late Hon. Edward L. Pierce, in place of the Hon. George F. Hoar, to whom it was originally assigned, who had declined on account of his previous appointment to write a memoir of Mr. Pierce for the American Antiquarian Society.

THE PRESIDENT said that he had received a letter from Mr. William R. Thayer declining a re-election to the Council on account of continued ill-health, and he added that the Society would the more readily accept this declination, as it could the sooner avail itself of Mr. Thayer's services for a full term on his complete restoration to health.

The President read a letter which, with the concurrence of the Council, he had addressed to a Committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences relating to the occupancy by the Academy of a part of the Society's new building on the Fenway. The proposed arrangement had been accepted by the Academy; and on motion of Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAF-TER, it was now approved and ratified by the Society.

On motion it was

Voted, That the Committee on Nominations for the succeeding year be instructed to consider the expediency of altering Chapter III. of the By-Laws of the Society, so as to increase from five to six the number of members at large of the Council annually elected, and to report on the same at the Annual Meeting.

The First Section having been called on, Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON said:—

In 1895, when I presented to the Society the roll of a Century of the Senate of the United States, I said that there were then living seven “ante-bellum” Senators. Since then five of them have died, leaving only two men now living who sat in the Senate before 4 March, 1861. And this seems to me rather a remarkable fact, inasmuch as a man not yet seventy might have entered the Senate in 1859. I also stated that the Fiftieth Congress was the only one in which the roll of members of the Senate was absolutely unchanged from beginning to end. But notwithstanding the enormous increase in the number of Senators in the Fifty-first Congress, the same thing happened in the Fifty-fourth, when the roll of members of the Senate was again unchanged. This would seem to show, though one would hardly expect it, that a seat in the Senate is more highly valued than formerly, since resignations are less frequent.

I desire also to communicate a letter of George Washington to Jonathan Boucher, which I believe has never been printed, and which seems worthy of a place in our Proceedings. It is as follows:—

MOUNT VERNON May 5th, 1772.

DEAR SIR,—As I wrote to you yesterday, I should scarcely have found any thing to have said to day, had not M^r Ballendine's desire of laying before Gov^r Eden, & the Gentlemen of Annapolis, a Scheme which he has been encouraged to adopt of visiting the Duke of Bridgewaters Works, & other things of the kind in England, with a view of bringing himself better acquainted with the true principles of that sort of knowledge, laid me under a kind of necessity of giving him a line to Gov^r Eden &c^t (not that I would mean to recommend, either the Man, or his Measures further than they deserve) whilst I was doing this, it occurred to me from an advertisement of a desired meeting of the Clergy in Annapolis, that you might possibly be there, & therefore I recom-

mended it to M^r Ballendine to shew you y^e Plan also; as he has met with pretty considerable encouragement on this side y^e Potomack, and has got Letters (as he says) from Lord Dunmore to M^r Brinley, & others, from whom he expects the Insight necessary to enable him to be instrumental in carrying into execution the present attempt of extending the Navigation of Potomack from Tidewater upwards, as far as Fort Cumberland — At the same time that I acknowledge that M^r Ballendine has a natural genius to things of this sort, which if properly encouraged may lend much to publick utility, I cannot help adding, that, his Principles have been loose; whether from a natural depravity, or distressed circumstances, I shal not undertake to determine; how far therefore a Man of this cast is entitled to encouragement every one must judge for themselves, for my part I think, if he applies the Money Subscribd, to the end proposed, the Publick will derive great advantages from it; on this acc^t it is, alone, I wish to see him encouraged, and on this principle it is, I have taken the liberty of mentioning of him to Gov^t Eden, Col^o Sharpe, Maj^r Jenifer and yourself; because, I think the opening of the Potomack wil at once fix the Trade of the Western Country (at least til it may be conduct^d through the Mississippi, by New Orleans) through that Channel; and end in amazing advantages to these two Colonies — I shal not trouble you further on this Subject — M^r Ballendine says he must be at Annapolis this Night, I am therefore detaining him — I am very sincerely

D^r Sir

Y^r Most Obed^t Serv^t

G^o WASHINGTON.

[Addressed] To The Rever^d M^r Boucher
now in Annapolis

The PRESIDENT alluded to the art and literary treasures in England owned by private individuals. He said he had never been so much impressed with the wealth and variety of these treasures as during his recent visit to that country. He referred, as an instance, to one occasion when, on entering an English country residence, well known but not especially marked, where he had been invited to pass a Sunday, he saw over the hall fireplace, opposite the front door as he came in, what he at first glance took to be a very admirable copy of a large Murillo. The particular picture he had never seen, but the style and manner were unmistakable. It was apparently a copy of a first-class altarpiece, from some cathedral in Spain. Later, however, he learned that, far from being a reproduction, it was an original Murillo, purchased

by a previous master of the house from a no less unmistakable source than Marshal Soult. There could be no question about it. It was a Murillo of the first order, a portion of the French "looting" of Spain during the Napoleonic wars, which had thus found a resting-place in an English country mansion, — one of the last places on earth where French war acquisitions would naturally be looked for.

On another occasion, he said, he had been invited by a friend, Mr. Robert H. Benson, who had married a member of the Holford family, to examine some interesting Americana in Dorchester House. Few Americans, he added, who had ever been in England, could have failed to notice Dorchester House, standing, as it does, on Park Lane, and, with its massive and imposing front, overlooking Hyde Park, — one of the most noticeable and stately of all those noticeable and stately private residences which are as peculiar to London as its *palazzi* to Rome.

In the course of that very hurried visit to Dorchester House, the President went on to say, he had been shown, besides portraits by Velasquez, Rembrandt, and Vandyck, more literary treasures in the way of first editions of single plays of Shakespeare and other rarities, in addition to choice Americana, than could quickly be enumerated. Among these last were two whose value, if measured by their rarity, could hardly be overestimated. The first was a copy of the earliest edition of Smith's "Generall Historie of Virginia," in a state of perfect preservation, and having on the fly-leaf opposite the titlepage, in the handwriting of John Smith himself, covering the whole of it, a letter dedicatory from him to the Cordwainers' or Shoemakers' Society of London, one of its most ancient Gilds. This volume, it appeared, had long ago gone into the Vernon collection through the partial dispersal, for some unexplained cause, of books which had accumulated in the hands of the Cordwainers' Society; thence it came by purchase, as part of the Vernon collection, to the late Robert Holford, who built Dorchester House. The value of this particular book does not seem to have been understood; otherwise the Gild never would have parted with it, or it would have found its way into some public repository. As a literary rarity it is probably unsurpassed among Americana. There may possibly be autographs or scraps of the writing of Captain John Smith in

The Worshipful the Mas^r for the
 thereof yo^r may read at large in this book for your better
 Satisfaction, & I pray yo^r take it not in ill part that I
 present the same to yo^r in this manuscript Epistle soe
 late, for both it & I my self have bin soe outworn by
 attendances that ~~was~~ this work of mine doth seeme
 to be Superannuated before it's Birth, notwithstanding
 Let me intreat you to give it lodging in your Hall freelie
 to be perused for ever, in memorie of you. Worthiness
 towards mee, & my Love to God, my Country, your Society,
 & those Plantations, Ever resting

Yours to life

John Smith.

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INSERT
FOLD-OUT
OR MAP
HERE

existence. If there were, however, the President said, he was unacquainted with their whereabouts, nor did he believe any such were to be found in America. It would not be possible to fix a money value upon this particular copy of Smith's *Generall Historie*. It was absolutely unique; and, if it were offered for sale, the price it would bring would be measured simply by the means at the disposal of public institutions trying to outbid wealthy private collectors.

So much had he been impressed with the rarity of the copy, and the beauty of Smith's chirography, as well as the interest which attaches to it, that he had taken the liberty of asking Captain G. L. Holford, the present owner of Dorchester House, to let him have the presentation letter photographed. After some demur, for fear lest copies of the photograph might get abroad, and an improper use be made of them in connection with other copies of the same edition of the book, this request had been very courteously complied with, and he now, therefore, had the pleasure of presenting to the Society a full photographic reproduction, through the best modern methods, of the letter in question, which the Holford family had most kindly transmitted to him.

He went on to say that, on the same occasion, an additional book had been shown him, which also was probably in its way unequalled among Americana. It was a small quarto volume, of the size and shape usual in the early half of the seventeenth century, containing under one cover no less than twenty-two very rare publications relating to America, dating from 1587 to 1622. They had evidently been collected, and bound together, at the time of their publication. A list of these also had, at his request, been furnished him, which he now wished to lay before the Society, as it was always desirable the whereabouts of the few original copies in existence of these rare books should be known. Dr. Green had, at his request, examined the list, and ascertained that most of the books in it were already included in various American collections, more especially the Lenox and the John Carter Brown collections. Others were in the library of this Society, and some at Harvard College. The whereabouts in America of duplicate copies of a few of those contained in this volume could not be ascertained, though probably all, or nearly all, of them would be found somewhere. All of them were in the

British Museum. The titles of these publications are as follows, and he asked to have the list included for future reference in the Society's printed Proceedings.¹

I. A briefe & true Relation of ye discovery of ye North pt. of Virginia, by Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold. Capt. Barth, Gilbert, & other associates. Written by T. Brereton, one of ye voyage. With a treatise of Edw. Hayes concerning ye planting in those parts, & finding a passage to ye South Sea & China. 1602.

II. A true Relation of ye most prosperous voyage this present yeare 1605 by Capt. Georg Waymouth in ye discovery of ye land of Virginia. By James Rosier, one of ye voyage. 1605.

III. A true Relation of such occurrences, & accidents of note, as have happened in Virginia since ye first planting of that Colony, now resident in ye South pt thereof, till ye last retourne from thence written by Capt. Smith. 1608.

IV. Nova Britania, offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia. 1609.

V. A good Speed to Virginia. Being a Sermon upon Josh. cap. 17. ver. 14. 1609.

VI. A true, & sincere declaration of ye purpose, and ends of ye Plantation begun in Virginia: of ye degrees it hath received, & meanes by w^{ch} it hath bin advanced. 1610.

VII. A true Declaration of ye estate of ye Colony in Virginia with a confutation of such scandalous reports, as have tended to ye disgrace of so worthy an Enterprise. 1610.

VIII. A Relation of ye R^t honorable S. de la Warre L. Gouverneur, & Captaine generall of ye Colony planted in Virg. 1611.

IX. The New lyfe of Virginia, declaring ye former successe, & present estate of that Plantation; being the second part of Nova Britania. 1612.

X. A Mapp of Virginia, with a description of the Country the Commodities, people, government, & Religion. Written by Capt. Smith. 1612.

XI. The proceedings of ye English Colony in Virgin. since their first beginning from England in the yeare 1606 till this present 1612. 1612.

XII. Good news from Virginia, sent by Alexander Whitaker, Minister of Henrico in Virg. with a praeface of Mr. Wittm Crashaw. 1613.

XIII. A true discourse of ye present estate of Virgin. & ye successe of ye affaires there till ye 8 of June 1614. with a Relation of

¹ The list is here printed as it was received from England; but it will be noticed that many of the titles have been abbreviated. There is no difficulty, however, in identifying the several works enumerated. — EDS.

ye Townes & Forts, ye assurance of ye Cōuntry, & ye peace concluded with ye Indians: The christening of Powhatans daughter, & her marriage with an English-man, etc. written by Ralph Hamor. 1615.

XIV. A Description of New England; or ye observations, & discoveries of Capt. John Smith in ye North of America an. 1614. & 1615. with a prooffe of ye present benefit this cōuntry afford's. 1616.

XV. A Declaration of ye estate, & Colony, & affair's of Virgin. with ye Names of th' Adventurours & Sūmes adventured in that Action. 1620.

BARMUDAS.

XVI. A Discovery of Barmudas, otherwise called ye Isle of Divelles: by S'r Tho: Gates, S'r George Sūmers, & Capt. Newport. written by Sil. Jordan. 1620.

XVII. A plaine Description of ye Barmudas, now called Sūmer Islands: with the maner of their discovery añ. 1609. by ye shipwrack, & admirable deliverance of S'r Tho. Gates, S'r Georg Sūmers, & Capt. Newport. wherein is declared ye comodities of the cōuntry, being rich, pleasant, healthfull. etc. 1613.

XVIII. A Letter sent into England from ye Summer Islands by Mr. Lewes Hughes, Preacher of Gods word there. Dated Decemb. 21, 1614. 1615.

XIX. A Plaine, & true Relation of ye goodness of God towards ye Sumer Islands: written by way of exhortation to stirre up ye people there to praise God by Lewes Hughes Minister of God's word. 1621.

XX. A New-yeares-gift to Virginia; being a sermon preached by Mr. W. Crashaw, Febr 21. 1609. at the departure of ye S. de la Warre unto Virgin. wherein ye lawfulness of ye Action is maintained, & the necessity thereof demonstrated. 1610.

NEW-FOUND-LAND.

XXI. A true Report of ye late Western discoveries & possession taken in ye right of ye Crowne of England of ye New-found Lands, by ye valiant, & worthy S'r Humphrey Gilbert: the lawfull title thereunto, the manifold comodities lykely to grow therby. etc. 1583.

XXII. A briefe discourse of ye New-found-Land, with ye situation, temperature, & comodities thereof, inciting our Nation to goe foreward in that hopefull plantation begun. Printed at Edinburg. 1620.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH then said:—

In the course of the discursive remarks near the close of our last meeting, one of our associates was understood to

express a fear lest the manuscript treasures of the Society would be exhausted at no distant period, and to suggest the desirability of securing some important collections of papers mentioned by him. In the latter remark we shall all concur: of the former I shall have something to say presently. The collection, preservation, and publication of historical manuscripts were among the primary objects of our founders; and by the original plan of Dr. Belknap, drawn up in 1790, each member was required, on his election, to "engage to use his utmost endeavours to collect and communicate to the Society" such manuscripts as might elucidate the "political history of America from the earliest times to the present day." In accordance with that purpose, our predecessors have collected and given to the Society about a thousand volumes of manuscripts of great and permanent value. Of these about one third is made up of large volumes, each containing several hundred letters or other papers; the others are smaller volumes, mainly of a similar character; and besides these there are great masses of unbound letters and manuscripts. Our founders and their successors, and other persons not members of the Society, have justly felt that in no other place would such papers be more securely preserved or more cautiously and judiciously used. All these papers and letters have been gifts to the Society. In only two instances, almost too unimportant in amount to be mentioned, has the Society, so far as I know, bought any manuscripts. The Society has never had any funds available for such a purpose, and it is to be feared we shall not have them in the immediate future. In scarcely any other way, however, can the objects of the Society be better promoted than by the gift or deposit of historical manuscripts for safe keeping and publication at some future period, when they can be properly made public. Three or four generations of our predecessors have recognized this; not a few who are now on our roll of living members have followed their example; and we may feel sure that those who shall come after us will be inspired by similar motives.

And now what has been done with these precious gifts, and what still remains to be done? The first volume of Collections bears the date of 1792, one year after the organization of the Society: the sixtieth volume is now in the hands of the printers; and it may be worth remarking that in that first

volume are numerous papers relating to the siege of Louisbourg, and that the new volume is made up of papers relating to the same matter, and acquired at the same time, which it was not thought proper to print then, but which are now of great interest and ought no longer to remain unprinted. The early volumes were of a miscellaneous character, containing important letters and documents then for the first time made public; reprints of rare books and tracts; original topographical and historical accounts of Massachusetts towns; memoirs of deceased members; and other original papers of one kind or another. Most of the volumes had very few foot-notes. It was not until Mr. Deane printed Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, in 1856, that any volume contained a considerable number of illustrative notes. Since that time most of the volumes have been more or less fully annotated, and have been of a more nearly homogeneous character than the earlier volumes.

Not long after the publication of Bradford's History the Society began the issue of a new series of volumes, not intended to interfere with the printing of the Collections, which were to consist in future of "original manuscripts of permanent interest, either from its own archives or from other sources." The new series of volumes was to "contain an account of the stated and special meetings, the reports of committees, correspondence, announcements of donations, and papers of a less elaborate character, prepared by members, and read before the Society." The plan which was thus described by the first committee for publishing the Proceedings, George Livermore and Chandler Robbins, has already resulted in the publication on those lines of thirty-one volumes, besides the index volume, and the thirty-second volume is now going through the press.

These volumes, more than ninety in all, have by no means exhausted our manuscript riches. Some years before his death, Mr. Deane, who was more familiar with the manuscripts of the Society and with its traditions than any other person, said in conversation that, at the rate at which the Society was then printing, its own manuscripts would not be exhausted in fifty years, to say nothing of papers not absolutely under our control. Since that time the publishing work of the Society has been carried on with considerably greater activity than it was then; but it is not less true to-day that many years must

elapse before there will be even the slightest sign of a dearth of materials. There are great masses of papers which deserve to be printed, and some of which the Society is under a moral obligation to print whenever it is in a position to do so. There are others which should be postponed to a much later period.

But the Society has not relied wholly on gifts. It has always gladly welcomed the loan of unpublished letters and diaries from any quarter, with the understanding that it was at liberty to print such portions as might seem desirable; and many of our most important volumes have been made up wholly or in part of selections from private collections, thus placed at our service, which are still unexhausted. We may confidently expect that the owners of other papers of a similar character will avail themselves of the opportunities for publication which the Collections and Proceedings of this Society afford, and will from time to time lend to us papers of historical value which they may not care to part with permanently.

By the By-Laws adopted in 1853, it was provided that for the orderly management of the meetings "the Society shall be divided into three sections, as nearly equal in numbers as may be, each of which sections, in regular sequence, shall be notified by the Recording Secretary that the Society, at the next following meeting, will desire to receive from it such communications" as have "relation to the objects of the Society." This has ever since been a fundamental rule. At each meeting the members of the designated section have the priority of right to make such communications, oral or written, in harmony with the purposes of the Society, as they shall think proper. No other invitation to do this is needed than the formal notification of the Recording Secretary, that the Society will be ready to receive communications from the designated section. When the members of that section have made such communications as they are prepared to offer, or if no member in it wishes to present any paper or oral communication, then the meeting is just as freely open to members of both the other sections. It is only in such cases as the appointment of one of our number to prepare the memoir of a deceased associate, where the By-Laws prescribe the selection by the Council of a member to perform that duty, or the

appointment of the successive publishing committees, the members of which, unless otherwise ordered, are to be nominated by the chair, that any member is formally requested or appointed to do anything. In the case of the publishing committees it has uniformly been the custom to appoint such members as were specially interested in the papers proposed to be printed, from a previous knowledge of their contents, or who were specially acquainted with the period to which they related. The examining and nominating committees, which are annually appointed, are selected in the same manner. It would scarcely have been necessary to make this statement but for an incidental remark, based on a misapprehension, dropped at our last meeting, which ought to be corrected. It may be added that more than ninety members have served on the various publishing committees, or about one quarter part of all the names borne on our rolls from the organization of the Society to this day. Not a few of our members who have been on no committee have enriched our printed Proceedings by important and instructive communications.

On another matter connected with the publications of the Society a few words may be added. It has sometimes been suggested that they have dealt too much with the colonial and provincial periods, and that it is desirable now to enlarge our scope and come down to more recent times. In answer to this it may be said that the Society has never attempted to deal with contemporary history: it has been felt that a considerable time must elapse before private letters and diaries can be printed with justice to their writers or to the persons mentioned in them, and that some historical questions cannot even now be discussed without producing an undesirable warmth. From the necessarily miscellaneous character of the papers printed in the Proceedings, it is not easy to classify their contents. Besides the memoirs of our deceased associates, two hundred or more in number, not one of whom died before the opening of this century, there have been original communications covering the whole range of historical inquiry from the half-fabulous voyages of the Northmen and the Zeno brothers down to McClellan's peninsular campaign. The letters and other documents have been for the most part illustrative of the colonial, provincial, and revolutionary periods, with probably some predominance of the latter period; and there have

been a few letters or documents of our own time. When we come to the Collections, it has been found by a rough calculation that about one half of the volumes contain material relating to the seventeenth century, and the other half material relating to the eighteenth century. To the former belong Bradford's History and Hubbard's History, which together fill three volumes of the Collections. No similar treasures remain unprinted; and while there is much still in our archives relating to the colonial period, the great mass of our unpublished material belongs to a later period. For the present at least it is the history of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century which will be most largely illustrated in our Collections. As the years recede and a new century opens, the Society may profitably occupy a wider field, and deal with matters not yet ripe for treatment by such an organization as ours. If we and those who come after us are faithful to the traditions which we have inherited, the Society's manuscripts will never be exhausted. The stream of history never runs dry, and as the successive generations come and go, new materials are brought down by its current.

ALBERT B. HART, Ph.D., gave some account of the letters and other manuscripts belonging to the late Hon. Salmon P. Chase, now in his possession. Among them is an unfinished sketch of a part of the life of Mr. Chase written by our late associate the Hon. Edward L. Pierce, in 1854 or 1855, when Mr. Pierce was a student in Mr. Chase's law office. Another paper is a subscription for shares in the "Chicago Block Company," which is chiefly of interest for the large number of signatures of men prominent in public life at the time it was drawn up, the spring of 1859, the real purpose of the subscription being to aid Dr. Bailey, the publisher of the "National Era," who died shortly afterward. Two of the original certificates of shares were presented to the Cabinet by Mr. Hart. Among the papers of Mr. Chase are also great numbers of autograph letters from prominent persons; among others, John Brown, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Parker, William H. Seward, William P. Fessenden, and the late Charles Francis Adams.

On motion of Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, it was voted that the Council be requested to consider and report at the Annual

Meeting as to the possibility of increasing the manuscript treasures of the Society.

John C. Gray, LL.D., of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and by Messrs. SOLOMON LINCOLN and JAMES F. RHODES.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1898.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at twelve o'clock, M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library.

Mr. George Harris Monroe, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member; and Frederick William Maitland, LL.D., of the University of Cambridge, England, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT then read the following report from the Council, which, on motion of Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, was accepted, and its recommendation was adopted:—

At the last meeting of the Society a motion was offered by Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell looking to the procurement for the Society of unpublished manuscript collections. This motion was referred to the Council for consideration before being acted upon.

The Council would now report that in its judgment the appointment of such a committee is from every point of view desirable. Nevertheless, it is not immediately apparent how such a committee could best be constituted, or in what manner it could most effectively proceed to accomplish its work. Other committees of a like character have already been appointed by societies similar to this, notably the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association, which has recently issued a report of over 500 pages. Under the circumstances it appears to the Council not improbable that it might be well to have the proposed committee consist of a larger number than would at first suggest itself, and possibly it might in part be made up of Corresponding as well as Resident members. Whether the appointment of such a larger committee would be expedient, or otherwise,

can only be ascertained after a somewhat careful examination of the field. This examination would seem to be a necessary preliminary to supplying effective machinery designed to work in it.

The Council would, therefore, recommend that the whole subject, together with this Report, be referred to a special committee of the Society at large to consider and report on the same. They therefore submit the following vote:—

Voted, That the vote of the Society passed at the previous meeting, looking to the appointment of an Historical Manuscripts Committee, together with the report of the Council thereon, be referred to Messrs. A. Lawrence Lowell, Albert B. Hart, and James F. Rhodes as a special Committee to consider and report on the same.

The PRESIDENT also read the following paper which had been submitted to the Council, and approved by them for presentation to the Society:—

There is a matter of no inconsiderable importance to which I desire to call the attention of the Council; and I do so formally, that it may be made matter of record.

A few days ago I received a short letter from the Bishop of London, expressing his sense of the action of the Society in placing his name on our Honorary list, and the pleasure he always felt in calling to mind the part he had taken in restoring to this country the Bradford manuscript. He then went on to say that he hoped a careful edition of the work might at no remote time be published, adding these words, "It is not always easy to find an editor, but a great deal may be done by co-operation."

This suggestion has brought a project long in my mind into concrete form. It will be remembered that the first edition of Bradford's History was published in 1856 by this Society, under the editorship of the late Charles Deane. Another large edition, to be printed by the Commonwealth for general distribution, is now passing through the press. This edition, it is understood, will not be accompanied by notes. It is a species of public document.

The last edition of Winthrop's History of Massachusetts is

that published in 1853, — the second under James Savage's editorship, with an interval of twenty-six years between the two.

As respects its genesis, Massachusetts is almost unique among communities, in that it has the records of Bradford and Winthrop, coeval in time, and covering not only the incipency, but the first stages of development of each of the two colonies which subsequently became the Province and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is universally conceded, both here and in Europe, that these two records are, historically, of the very first interest as well as importance. The manuscript of one of these records, after singular vicissitudes with which all here are familiar, is now where it properly belongs, in the possession of Massachusetts. The manuscript of the other, that of Winthrop, so far as it is still in existence, is the most treasured possession of this Society.

During the latter years of the life of Mr. Deane I repeatedly called his attention to the fact that a new, enlarged, and, so to speak, monumental edition of Bradford was needed, and that he above all others was the person most competent to edit it. Admirable as his notes were, models in fact of editorial work, he had, as he himself always said, been much hurried in preparing for the press the edition of 1856. So much so, indeed, that Mr. Savage, among others, had wished it to be edited without any notes at all, merely to avoid delay in publication. In the many talks I had with him on the subject Mr. Deane always assumed that another and more elaborate edition was desirable; and more than once I urged him to begin on its preparation, as the last ripe result of his labors in the field of Massachusetts history, his *magnum opus*, a new edition of Bradford in two volumes, enriched with all the information he had stored up. I even went so far as to put my own services at his disposal, in case they might in some subordinate capacity be of use. Mr. Deane received the suggestion more than favorably, and from many subsequent conversations I know that he kept it constantly in mind. I have little doubt he looked forward to associating his name with that of Bradford, much as the name of Savage is associated with that of Winthrop. The very last time we met the project was again referred to, and, with a look of deep sadness I ever recall on his face, he pronounced the words "Too late." Death came

shortly after ; and, so far as the proposed work is concerned, his loss is irreparable.

This Society is now passing through what will hereafter be a memorable break in its history. The old and the new are here divided, and it would seem not inappropriate that this dividing line should be marked in a special way ; and in no way could it be better marked than by bringing out memorial, and, so far as they could be made such, monumental editions of Bradford and Winthrop. Since the Savage and Deane editions of the two, respectively forty-five and forty-two years ago, much new matter has been unearthed and additional light thrown on the early period ; to-day also the demand for editions of a high order of such works is larger than it then was. I wish, therefore, to propose that the Society, as such, publish, in the year 1900, memorial editions of these two histories, probably in four volumes, two of each, uniform in all respects, not only with carefully prepared notes supplementary to those of Savage and Deane, bringing the editorial work down to the present day, but enriched also by charts, maps, and fac-similes, done in the highest style of art, — with portraits, wherever authentic portraits can be obtained, and also such other pictorial matter of a severely historical nature as may be illustrative of the text. I would suggest as a model of what I have in mind the memorial edition of J. R. Green's "Short History of the English People," prepared by his widow, and published in 1894.

Brought out in the name of the Society and under its direction, I would dedicate the Winthrop to Mr. Savage, the Bradford to Mr. Deane ; thus, incidentally, paying a tribute the Society in this generation unquestionably owes to the memory of two of its most eminent members in the last generation. There can be little doubt such editions would now have a considerable sale, sufficient probably to cover their whole cost ; although, if the thing is undertaken, it should be undertaken on a scale regardless of expense within every reasonable limit.

It is only necessary to add that, if the work is to be completed within the year 1900, no time is to be lost. A committee should forthwith be appointed, and publishers conferred with. Should such a committee report favorably on the project, it would only remain to select an editing committee from the Society at large.

I would ask for this suggestion early and careful consideration on the part of the Council.

On motion of Mr. SOLOMON LINCOLN, the foregoing communication was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Charles C. Smith, Arthur Lord, and John T. Morse, Jr., and the President was added as a member of the Committee *ex officio*.

Mr. THORNTON K. LOTHROP, Senior Member at Large of the Council, presented their annual report as follows:—

Report of the Council.

Our Annual Meeting a year ago was the last held in the former building of the Society on Tremont Street. Since that time we have occupied the rooms in the Tremont Building where we are at present. They answer fairly well for a temporary makeshift until we can get into our new building. They have been found, however, quite unsatisfactory for our meetings, and of those that have been held during the past year there have been three, by the courtesy of the American Academy, at their rooms, and one, by invitation of our associate Mr. W. S. Appleton, at his house on Beacon Street.

The volume of the Bowdoin and Temple Papers which it was stated in the last report of the Council would be ready for the members on the day of the Annual Meeting, was delivered to them at that time. No additional volume of Collections has been published during the year; but a committee consisting of Messrs. Charles C. Smith, Samuel A. Green, George B. Chase, and Edward G. Porter has been appointed to publish a volume of the Pepperrell Papers from the original manuscripts relating to the siege and capture of Louisbourg, which are in the possession of the Society. A new volume of Proceedings, entitled Volume Eleven, Second Series, has been issued; it contains memoirs (each of them illustrated by a portrait) of the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, by Edward J. Young; of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, by John T. Morse, Jr.; of James Russell Lowell, by A. Lawrence Lowell; of Rufus Choate, by Clement Hugh Hill; of Hamilton A. Hill, by Samuel E. Herrick; of William S. Shurtleff, by George S. Merriam; and of Leverett Saltonstall, by Charles R. Codman.

There have also been issued two serial numbers (October, 1897, to January, 1898) of Volume Twelve.

The Act of Incorporation, with the additional Acts and By-Laws, and a list of the officers and Resident Members, was issued in August, 1897, and there has also been printed a list of the officers and members of the Society, from January, 1791, to September, 1897.

During the year one Honorary Member of the Society, the Marquis de Rochambeau, one Corresponding Member, Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, and five Resident Members of the Society have died. The following is a list of their names, together with the names of the gentlemen appointed to prepare memoirs of them for publication in our Proceedings : Hon. John Lowell, memoir by Thornton K. Lothrop ; George S. Hale, memoir by Arthur B. Ellis ; Edward L. Pierce, memoir by James F. Rhodes ; Theodore Lyman, memoir to be assigned ; Justin Winsor, memoir by Horace E. Scudder.

Seven gentlemen have become Resident Members of the Society during the year. They are : Major William R. Livermore, elected April 8, 1897 ; Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D., May 13, 1897 ; Lucien Carr, A.M., June 10, 1897 ; James Schouler, LL.D., December 9, 1897 ; Hon. John S. Brayton, LL.D., January 13, 1898 ; Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., February 10, 1898 ; John C. Gray, LL.D., March 10, 1898.

Hon. Joseph H. Choate, LL.D., of New York, has been elected a Corresponding Member, and the Right Rev. Mandell Creighton, D.D., the Bishop of London, has been transferred from the number of our Corresponding to that of our Honorary Members.

There have been twenty-three publications by members of the Society during the year, some of which have been presented to the Society by their several authors, and a list of the same is appended to this report.

The Rev. Mr. Porter, who was appointed by the President to represent this Society at a meeting of the Royal Society of Canada in June, 1897, which was held to commemorate "The Fourth Centenary of Cabot's Landfall and the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Victoria," made an interesting report of that celebration, which is to be found in the report of the proceedings of our October meeting.

During the year the work upon our new building has advanced satisfactorily. A special meeting of the Society was held

in July, at which the Building Committee were authorized to proceed in the work of construction according to the plans, estimates, and reports which they then submitted to the Society, and contracts for the new building were made shortly afterwards. It was expected, at the time the contracts were signed, that the walls would be up and the building roofed over by the first of January; but there were delays, caused in part by the contractor who was to finish the stone sending at first machine-cut instead of hand-cut stone as required by the contract, and in part by the very variable weather of December, quite unfit for the laying of brick, which made it impossible to have the building roofed in, as was expected. This delay was in one respect advantageous to us, as it enabled us to complete our arrangements with the American Academy for their occupation of a portion of the upper story of our building, and to strengthen the floors of this story so as to bear the weight of their library before the work of construction had proceeded too far. This arrangement with the American Academy gives them the use of two rooms and the hall on Boylston Street in the upper story of our building, and also the right to use for their meetings the Ellis Hall on the ground floor. For the rooms which they occupy we shall have at present no use, and the amount which they pay for the heating, lighting, and care of them will materially diminish our annual expenses.

The work on the building has been so far entirely satisfactory. The changes that have been made, while they have added somewhat to the expense, will still, exclusive of the finish of the third floor, which was not originally contemplated, leave the cost within the amount authorized by the Society. It is confidently expected that the building will be finished so that we can begin to move into it at the beginning of the next year.

Contrary to what is often the case, the exterior of our new building looks better than the drawings of the different elevations did. It seems to the Committee wholly satisfactory, of excellent proportions, sober, dignified, and simple, — a building altogether suitable in appearance to the serious character of the Societies that are to occupy it.

It was with great regret that we learned at the close of the year that our efficient Cabinet-keeper, Mr. McCleary, had posi-

tively declined a re-election, and that neither argument nor persuasion had been able to shake his resolution. While we reluctantly accept his decision, we desire to place on record an expression of our appreciation of his valuable services to the Society, and of our grateful thanks for them.

THORNTON K. LOTHROP,
Senior Member at Large of the Council.

Publications by Members.

Christian Institutions. By Alexander V. G. Allen.

Additions to Positive Pedigrees and Authorized Arms of New England. By William S. Appleton.

Students' History of the United States. By Edward Channing.

American Contributions to Civilization, and other Essays and Addresses. By Charles W. Eliot.

The Great Teacher. A Sermon delivered in the Stone Temple, Quincy, Massachusetts, 12 December, 1897, in Commemoration of the Life and Services of William Royall Tyler, Master of Adams Academy. By William Everett, formerly Master of that School.

The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789. New Edition. By John Fiske.

Old Virginia and her Neighbors. In two volumes. By John Fiske.

Groton Historical Series, Number V. of Volume IV. By Samuel A. Green.

Roll of Honor, Groton. By Samuel A. Green. Reprinted from the Groton Historical Series, Vol. IV., No. V, September, 1897.

American History told by Contemporaries. Volume I. Era of Colonization, 1492-1689. Edited by Albert B. Hart.

Procession of the Flowers and Kindred Papers. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

Tales of the Enchanted Isles of America. By Thomas W. Higginson.

Fourth Annual Address of the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence to the Convention of the Diocese, delivered in Trinity Church, Boston, May 19, 1897, at its One Hundred and Twelfth Annual Meeting.

The Mission of the Church to the Privileged Classes. By William Lawrence. From "Five Lectures upon the Church," published by the Church Club of the Diocese of Connecticut, 1897.

Certain Accepted Heroes, and other Essays on Literature and Politics. By Henry Cabot Lodge.

A Door Opened. By Alexander McKenzie.

The Cabot Quadri-Centenary Celebrations at Bristol, Halifax, and St. John's in June, 1897. By Edward G. Porter. Reprinted from the New England Magazine, February, 1898.

Thirty-first Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1896-97. By Frederick W. Putnam.

A History of the United States of America with an Introduction narrating the Discovery and Settlement of North America. By Horace E. Scudder.

Diocese of Massachusetts. The Enlargement of its Diocesan Library. Being the Fourteenth Annual Report made to the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, held in Trinity Church, Boston, May 19 and 20, 1897. By Edmund F. Slafter.

John Checkley; or the Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay, 1719-1774. With Historical Illustrations and a Memoir by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter. In two volumes. Published by the Prince Society.

The Westward Movement. The Colonies and the Republic west of the Alleghanies, 1763-1798. With full cartographical illustrations from contemporary sources. By Justin Winsor.

A Memoir of Robert C. Winthrop. Prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

The report of the Treasurer and the report of the Auditing Committee were submitted in print. In presenting these reports, the Treasurer added an oral statement as to the disposition made during the year of the money received from the Tremont Street estate, and as to what was proposed to be done in the ensuing year.

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1898.

The special funds held by him are sixteen in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest was added to the principal to bring the amount up to \$2,000, at which it now stands. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago,

of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$29,423.71. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society and a withdrawal from the Building Account:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from the late GEORGE DEXTER, Recording Secretary from 1878 to 1883, received in June, 1884. This bequest for several years stood on the Treasurer's books at \$900, at which sum the shares were valued when the incomes arising from separate investments were all merged in one consolidated account. Besides the regular quarterly dividends there has been received up to the present time from the sale of subscription rights, etc., the sum of \$268.56, which has been added to the nominal amount of Mr. Dexter's bequest.

7. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR, received in February, 1895.

8. Sixteen commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

9. During the past financial year the sum of \$18,655.15 has been withdrawn from the proceeds of the sale of the Tremont Street estate, and added to this fund.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of \$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal; and it is the wish of the giver that the same policy should be continued. The fund now stands at \$2,141.04.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late William Amory, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The income has been allowed to accumulate, with the view to the publication of a volume of Collections.

XII. THE LAWRENCE FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the younger Abbott Lawrence, received in June, 1894. The income is "to be expended in publishing the Collections and Proceedings" of the Society.

XIII. THE ROBERT C. WINTHROP FUND, which was a gift of \$5,000, under the will of our late associate, received in December, 1894. No restrictions were attached to this bequest; but by a vote of the Society passed Dec. 13, 1894, it was directed that the income "shall be expended for such purposes as the Council may from time to time direct."

XIV. THE WATERSTON PUBLISHING FUND, which was a gift of \$10,000, under the will of our late associate, the Rev. Robert C. Waterston, received in December, 1894. The income is to be used as a publishing fund, in accordance with the provisions of Mr. Waterston's will printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. viii. pp. 172, 173).

XV. THE ELLIS FUND, which originated in a bequest to the Society of \$30,000, by our late President, Dr. George E. Ellis. This sum was paid into the Treasury Dec. 20, 1895; and to it was added the sum of \$574.71 received from the sale of various articles of personal property, also given to the Society by Dr. Ellis, which it was not thought desirable to keep, making the whole amount of the fund \$30,574.71. No part of the original sum can be used for the purchase of other real estate in exchange for the real estate specifically devised by Dr. Ellis's will.

Besides the bequest in money, Dr. Ellis by his will gave to

the Society the dwelling-house No. 110 Marlborough Street, with substantially all its contents. In the exercise of the discretion which the Society was authorized to use, this house was sold for the sum of \$25,000, and the proceeds invested in the more eligible estate on the corner of the Fenway and Boylston Street. The full sum received from the sale was entered on the Treasurer's books, to the credit of ELLIS HOUSE, in perpetual memory of Dr. Ellis's gift.

XVI. THE LOWELL FUND, which was a bequest of the late Hon. John Lowell, amounting to \$3,000, received September 13, 1897. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291-296); and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

The stock and bonds held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co.; \$10,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Iron-ton Railroad Co.; \$10,000 in the new four per cent mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co.; \$2,000 in the adjustment four per

cent bonds, and thirty-three shares of the preferred stock of the same corporation, received in exchange for the bonds of said corporation heretofore held by the Treasurer; \$11,000 in the five per cent collateral trust bonds of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Co.; \$30,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Metropolitan Street Railway Co. of Kansas City; \$6,000 in the four and one half per cent bonds of the Boston and Maine Railroad Co.; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston; fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the Columbian National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the Second National Bank of Boston; thirty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.; twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.; one hundred shares in the preferred stock of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co.; five shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000); five shares in the State Street Exchange; and two shares in the Pacific Mills (of the par value of \$1,000).

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

1897.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance on hand		\$9,653.52
1898.			
March 31.	„ receipts as follows:—		
	General Account	7,754.86	
	Consolidated Income	7,001.51	
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	62.30	
	Notes Receivable	90,000.00	
	General Fund	300.00	
	Real Estate	19.05	
	Lowell Fund	3,000.00	
			<u>\$117,791.24</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$32,449.99

1898.

CREDITS.

March 31.	By payments as follows: —	
	Investments	\$23,928.90
	Income of Ellis Fund	192.40
	Income of Savage Fund	264.32
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	20.25
	Income of Appleton Fund	70.25
	Income of Mass. Historical Trust Fund	78.48
	Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	15.00
	Income of Peabody Fund	990.47
	Real Estate	50,666.46
	General Account	9,114.72
	„ balance on hand	32,449.99
		<u>\$117,791.24</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1897.

DEBITS.

March 31.	To balance brought down	\$4,311.86
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1898.

March 31.	„ sundry charges and payments: —	
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,940.00
	Printing and binding	247.68
	Stationery and postage	109.04
	Light	28.90
	Cost of moving	764.72
	Miscellaneous expenses	212.92
	Editing publications of the Society	2,000.00
	Storage	1,520.80
	Rent	1,290.66
		<u>\$13,426.58</u>

March 31.	By balance brought down	\$3,854.67
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1898.

CREDITS.

March 31.	By sundry receipts: —	
	Rent of Building	\$1,356.16
	Interest	4,430.60
	Income of Dowse Fund	515.03
	Income of General Fund	1,302.02
	Admission Fees	175.00
	Assessments	800.00
	Sales of publications	993.10
	„ balance carried forward	3,854.67
		<u>\$13,426.58</u>

Income of Appleton Fund.

1898.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding and printing	\$70.25
	„ balance carried forward	2,173.45
		<u>\$2,243.70</u>
1897.	CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,615.21
1898.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	628.49
		<u>\$2,243.70</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$2,173.45

Income of Ellis Fund.

1898.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for storage, etc.	192.40
	„ balance carried forward	1,960.45
		<u>\$2,152.85</u>
1897.	CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$578.16
1898.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	\$1,574.69
		<u>\$2,152.85</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$1,960.45

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

1898.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	\$20.25
	„ balance carried forward	310.56
		<u>\$330.81</u>
1897.	CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$176.30
1898.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	154.51
		<u>\$330.81</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$310.56

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

1898.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	By amount paid for binding	\$78.48	
	„ balance carried forward	1,723.15	
			<u>\$1,801.63</u>
1897.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,286.60	
1898.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	515.03	
			<u>\$1,801.63</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$1,723.15	

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

1897.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$57.75	
1898.			
March 31.	„ balance carried forward	159.06	
			<u>\$216.81</u>
1898.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By copyright received	\$62.30	
	„ proportion of consolidated income	154.51	
			<u>\$216.81</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$159.06	

Income of Peabody Fund.

1898.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for printing and binding	\$962.22	
	„ amount paid for repair of portrait	28.25	
	„ balance carried forward	638.64	
			<u>\$1,629.11</u>
1897.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$489.71	
1898.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	1,139.40	
			<u>\$1,629.11</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$638.64	

Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund.

DEBITS.

1898.		
March 31.	To amount paid for books	\$15.00
	„ balance carried forward	216.94
		<u>\$231.94</u>

CREDITS.

1897.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$128.93
1898.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	103.01
		<u>\$231.94</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$216.94

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

1898.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	<u>\$515.03</u>

CREDITS.

1898.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	<u>\$515.03</u>

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

1898.		
March 31.	To amount paid for books	264.32
	„ balance carried forward	81.34
		<u>\$345.66</u>

CREDITS.

1897.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$36.64
1898.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	309.02
		<u>\$345.66</u>
March 31.	“ balance brought down	\$81.34

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	\$32,449.99
Notes Receivable	70,000.00
Investments	159,339.60
Real Estate	9,176.69
Coupon Scrip	800.00
General Account	3,854.67
	<u>\$275,620.95</u>

CREDITS.

Building Account	\$84,625.04
Ellis House	25,000.00
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	2,000.00
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	29,423.71
Anonymous Fund	2,141.04
William Amory Fund	3,000.00
Lawrence Fund	3,000.00
Robert C. Winthrop Fund	5,000.00
Waterston Publishing Fund	10,000.00
Ellis Fund	30,574.71
Lowell Fund	3,000.00
Income of Peabody Fund	638.64
Income of Savage Fund	81.34
Income of Lowell Fund	76.68
Income of Appleton Fund	2,173.45
Income of William Winthrop Fund	310.56
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,723.15
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	159.06
Income of William Amory Fund	1,395.23
Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	216.94
Income of Lawrence Fund	540.14
Income of Robert C. Winthrop Fund	751.61
Income of Waterston Publishing Fund	1,503.20
Income of Ellis Fund	1,960.45
	<u>\$275,620.95</u>

The income from the invested funds during the year was about 5.15 per cent, an increase of about one quarter of one per cent over the rate of the preceding year.

Besides the volume of Collections—6th series, vol. ix.—which was published on the day of the last Annual Meeting, the Society has published a volume of the Proceedings,—2d series, vol. xi.—during the year. A volume of the Proceedings and a volume of the Collections are now going through the press.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

Boston, March 31, 1898.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1898, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, }
JAMES M. BUGBEE, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 9, 1898.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN submitted the Report of the Librarian: —

Report of the Librarian.

Owing to circumstances familiar to the members, the report of the Librarian for the past year is very brief. During this period the various collections of the Library as a whole, including the manuscripts and the files of newspapers, have been in storage. Certain books, such as works of reference and the Publications of the Society, have been kept at the temporary quarters in Tremont Building, but these form only a very small part of the whole collection. As a result of this state of affairs, the use of the Library has been reduced to a minimum.

During the year there have been added to the Library:

Books	468
Pamphlets	1,178
Bound volume of newspapers	1
Unbound volumes of newspapers	11
Broadsides	17
Maps	2
Manuscripts	8
Bound volume of manuscripts	1

In all 1,686

Of the books added, 374 have been given, 76 bought, and 18 by binding. Of the pamphlets added, 1,098 have been given, 74 bought, and 6 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 76 volumes, 74 pamphlets, and 2 unbound volumes of newspapers; and 5 volumes, containing 11 pamphlets, have been bound.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 13 volumes, containing 71 pamphlets, have been bound, and 5 volumes repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 16 have been given, and 23 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 22 have been given and 10 bought. There are now in this collection 2,406 volumes, 4,880 pamphlets, 811 broadsides, and 105 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 900 volumes, 192 unbound volumes, 97 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 7,501 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 40,500 volumes; and this enumeration includes the files of bound newspapers, bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 100,121; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,969.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

April 14, 1898.

Mr. SAMUEL F. McCLEARY then read his report as Cabinet-keeper.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper reports that the last year has not been an eventful one for his department. The Cabinet, since its removal from its previous quarters, has had an undisturbed sepulture in the temporary location to which it was committed.

During the year the following gifts and bequests have been made to this department, namely:—

A photograph of a bronze tablet placed in the hall of the Province House at Halifax by the Royal Society of Canada, June, 1897, "in honour of the famous Navigator John Cabot," and unveiled on June 24. Given by Edward G. Porter.

A heliotype of St. Phillip's Church,* Charleston, South Carolina, 1897; and a photograph of Robert E. Lee. Given by Samuel A. Green.

An iron medal bearing the bust of Dr. Franklin, said to have been given to his personal friend Benjamin Sumner. Bequest of Benjamin Sumner Proctor.

Two engravings: Hon. Peter H. Wendover, who designed the plan and drafted the bill of the present United States flag; and Betsy Ross, who made the first Stars and Stripes for General Washington. Given by Augustus Bedford.

A half-tone cut of the Union Church of Weymouth and Braintree, burned June 19, 1897. Given by John J. Loud.

It is confidently hoped that, before the next Annual Meeting of the Society, the Cabinet, which has been largely inaccessible to public view and has been too contracted in room for its proper display, will be ready for exhibition in its improved quarters.

The Cabinet-keeper wishes those members of the Society who have not furnished to it their cabinet photographs, to provide the same as soon as convenient, in order to complete the Society's album, — a service which will be of important value in the future.

With the close of this meeting the undersigned relinquishes into more youthful and competent hands the trust which he has tried to administer under peculiar difficulties; and he is confident that, with an orderly arrangement of materials, and with a new catalogue, which has become a necessity, the Cabinet will assume the proper position among the Society's possessions which its interest and value should command.

SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 14, 1898.

The several reports were accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

The PRESIDENT and Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, referring to the report of the Council, bore strong testimony to the value and efficiency of Mr. McCleary's services, and, on motion of Mr. Haynes, a special vote of thanks to Mr. McCleary was adopted.

Mr. THORNTON K. LOTHROP, as chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of candidates

for the several offices, and the gentlemen named were duly elected :—

For President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

For Vice-Presidents.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE.

For Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

For Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

For Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

For Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Cabinet-keeper.

HENRY FITCH JENKS.

For Members at Large of the Council.

CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.

WILLIAM WALLACE CRAPO.

WINSLOW WARREN.

BARRETT WENDELL.

MORTON DEXTER.

Mr. LOTHROP, from the Committee on Nominations, submitted the following report :—

The Committee on Nominations, who were instructed by the vote of the Society to consider the expediency of altering Chapter 3 of the By-Laws so as to increase from five to six the number of members-at-large of the Society annually elected to the Council, and to report on the same at this meeting, respectfully report that in their opinion it is not expedient at this time and upon so short consideration to make such a radical change in the constitution of the Council as the proposed vote seems to contemplate. The Committee is well aware of the difficulties under which the Council has labored during

the last year, from the inability of some of its members to attend regularly its meetings, but this difficulty is probably only temporary, and may be met by the following amendment, the adoption of which is recommended by the Committee.

Insert between the two paragraphs of the third chapter of the By-Laws the following: "Whenever from any cause the actual number of members of the Council shall fall below thirteen, the Society may at any meeting elect additional members until the number shall equal thirteen, but the terms of office of members so elected shall expire at the Annual Meeting next ensuing."

Respectfully submitted,

THORNTON K. LOTHROP, *for the Committee.*

On motion of Mr. JAMES FORD RHODES, the report was accepted, and the By-Laws were amended in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee.

Mr. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., then moved the following vote, which was adopted: —

That whereas the actual number of the Council just elected is one less than thirteen, Mr. George B. Chase be hereby elected to serve in that body until the Annual Meeting next ensuing.

Mr. Winthrop also moved, —

That the Building Committee shall consist, as heretofore, of the entire Council *ex officio*, together with three other members to be appointed by the Chair; and the Chair have power to continue in office the present sub-committee charged with the immediate superintendence of work now in hand.

The President subsequently appointed Messrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., Thornton K. Lothrop, and A. Lawrence Lowell, to be the additional members of the Building Committee.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON then said: —

I wish to announce the death of a Corresponding Member, which took place some years ago. Thomas Best Jervis, Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers under the Honorable East India

Company, a Fellow of the Royal Society, died in London 3 April, 1857. His name has been wrongly omitted from the recent rolls of the Society, because his personality was unfortunately lost in consequence of a twofold blunder of the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell, who nominated him as Major E. B. Jarvis. I have long felt sure of the identity of the two men, and this is now an absolute certainty. A Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Jervis by his son has lately been published, and in it is a letter in which the writer mentions the Rev. Dr. Lowell as his traveling companion in Egypt. I am confident that our careful Secretary and our cautious Editor will have no hesitation in replacing on the roll the name of Major or Lieutenant-Colonel Jervis. Perhaps the most satisfactory thing in the whole matter is the fact that Major Jervis got even with Dr. Lowell, for in the letter, as printed, the latter appears as the Rev. Dr. Lovell of Boston; but the name is correctly indexed as the Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN then spoke extemporaneously, in substance as follows: —

During recent investigations into the history of the Customs service in Boston from the beginning of the Colony to the present day, I have been impressed not only by the prolonged training for the Revolutionary War which the Colony gained by its continuous struggle with the Crown over Customs matters, but also with the unreliability and inaccuracy of the current histories of the events from 1636 to 1776, and even later.

The contest over the Charter and between the different forms of Church government and belief, important as they were, do not seem to have touched the hearts of the people nearly as closely as the ever-present conflict between the asserted right of the people to tax themselves and collect their own taxes and the claims of the royal authorities. This struggle began in 1636, and it was never quieted before the Revolution.

The exciting episodes of Edward Randolph's history are familiar, but the confusion of dates among historians is very marked. The dramatic reading of the king's letter to Governor Leverett with the latter's bold defiance of the king finds

different dates attached to it, is confounded with his subsequent production of a commission from the Crown as Collector, and is fixed by some writers at a date subsequent to Leverett's death. The issuing of Writs of Assistance is ascribed by some to William Sheaffe, then Deputy Collector at Boston, and by others to Charles Paxton, the Commissioner of Customs, who it is alleged gave the order to John Cockle, Collector at Salem. It is also interesting to note the similarity between the powers granted under these writs and those now found in the Statutes of the United States in relation to Customs matters.

All the histories which I have seen state that when the Port of Boston was closed in June, 1774, under the Boston Port Bill, the Customs force was removed to Salem, as required by the Act. This, however, is entirely incorrect. The Customs Commissioners did open an office in Salem, but the Customs Force removed to Plymouth, where Edward Winslow was then Deputy Collector for Boston, residing at Plymouth, not, as is commonly stated, the royal Collector for Plymouth. I have nowhere seen the fact stated in histories of the times, although the newspapers of the day conclusively prove it, that, failing to collect duties at either port, both Customs Commissioners and Customs officers returned to Boston in September, 1774, and remained there until the evacuation of the city, in 1776. Much of the confusion existing as to these matters is doubtless due to the singular fatality attending the Customs records. The destruction or looting of Hutchinson's house, in 1767, occasioned the loss of many valuable records, while later the Customs records of Boston entirely disappeared. Tradition says they were taken to Halifax when the British troops left Boston; the inherent improbability of this, in face of the well-known haste and confusion of the evacuation, is very great; but in addition to that, careful personal investigation with the aid of the present record-keeper at the Custom House, who has been familiar for years with the tradition and inquiries that have been made, not the least of which was the examination made by the Provincial authorities at the request of the United States Secretary of State some years since, satisfies me that the tradition rests upon no good foundation. There may have been valuable records at Salem, but only casual letters relating to this removal of the Customs force remain now; though others may have been destroyed in the burning of the

Customs offices there in October, 1774, just after the Commissioners left. At Plymouth the leaves of the volume for 1774 are carefully cut out and were probably destroyed. The later records have met with like fate, those of the beginning of the century being destroyed in Washington at the burning of the Capitol in 1814, while the fire at the appraisers' stores in Boston, in 1894, consumed another portion, leaving, however, at the Custom House many valuable volumes, from 1789 down. These volumes contain many valuable and interesting letters from Hamilton, Oliver Wolcott, and Gallatin, Secretaries of the Treasury, and from the early Federal Collectors; but they are carelessly guarded and in constant danger of destruction.

After 1789 General Benjamin Lincoln was Collector of Boston for twenty years. Mrs. Quincy in her memoirs states that he resigned in 1809, with an indignant letter to the President stating that he had served his country too long to have anything to do with the infamous Enforcement Act. Drake, in his "Ancient Landmarks," says this letter was written to Madison, who was not President until two months later.

It is very improbable that any such letter was written, for it is well known that Lincoln resigned in November, 1806, was requested by Jefferson to remain until 1807, and was, in fact, kept in office until 1809, for which Josiah Quincy roundly criticised Jefferson in Congress. Lincoln's aversion to the Enforcement Act, passed in January, 1809, is clear; and doubtless, when he and his Deputy peremptorily resigned upon the arrival of that Act in Boston, he was glad to avail himself of the opportunity to escape embarrassments. But he had served through Embargo Acts; he had resigned in 1806, from ill health and advancing age, and again in 1807, for the same causes; and a copy of his official letter to Jefferson, in January, 1809, in my possession alleges no other causes.

The history of what followed the resignation is amusing, and the feeling of the times is quaintly illustrated in the notices to the public issued by James Lovell, who was then Naval Officer, upon being instructed to assume the duties of Collector. For cool impertinence and sarcasm, these notices, which will be published later, are altogether unique.

There is another interesting, if not important, fact disclosed by the Customs Records. It appears that George Bancroft, who was Collector under President Van Buren, from Janu-

ary, 1838, to 1841, appointed Nathaniel Hawthorne measurer (weigher) at the Boston Custom House, whence he was appointed Surveyor at Salem under President Polk, and afterward Consul at Liverpool by President Pierce. It is remarkable that two literary men of such distinction as Bancroft and Hawthorne should have been at the Custom House at the same time.

Mr. Warren's communication elicited remarks on the same subject by Messrs. MELLLEN CHAMBERLAIN, A. C. GOODELL, Jr., WALBRIDGE A. FIELD, and EDMUND F. SLAFTER.

Other remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, and Messrs. JAMES F. RHODES, HENRY W. HAYNES, SAMUEL A. GREEN, and EDWARD J. YOUNG.

After the adjournment the members and a few invited guests lunched with Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of the Nominating Committee, at his house on Walnut Street.

MAY MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the Annual Meeting and of the list of donors to the Library during the last month, the PRESIDENT briefly announced the deaths of two Corresponding Members, William Henry Trescot, of Charleston, South Carolina, who was elected in February, 1858, and whose name stood at the time of his death second on the roll of Corresponding Members, and Jules Marcou, who was elected in May, 1869, when he was a resident of Paris, France. The Hon. T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE gave some interesting personal recollections of Mr. Trescot, whom he first met while attending as a delegate the Pan-American Congress, at Washington, in 1889-90; and Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN spoke briefly of Mr. Marcou and his scientific attainments.

The President then announced that Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith had been reappointed a Committee to publish the Proceedings.

Rev. E. J. Young communicated for Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE, who was absent, the memoir of the late Benjamin Marston Watson, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., presented to the Society an original letter from Governor William Bradford of Plymouth, to Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts, dated April 11, 1638, and containing an abstract of Winthrop's answer to it in his own hand. This interesting manuscript, which was printed by the Society in the Fourth Series of Collections, Vol. VI., has now been mounted and framed, in order that it may be hung in some suitable place in the new building.

Mr. Winthrop then read the following letter, recently given by him to the State Library of Massachusetts, relating to the war which had broken out between England and Holland in 1672, and the necessity of protecting Boston : —

Thomas Savage to the Selectmen of Boston.

GENTILLMEN, — The Comittie of Millitie having vewed the condition of the fortificat^s relateing unto this Towne, doe find that thear is necesytie of speedy repayreing both the North Battery and the Sconce at the foot of the forte hill, doe therfore according unto the trust comitted unto us desire you for to make spedy provisyon of fagots & stones in ech place that soe it may be repayred & farther daīmag p^rvented, & when materyalls are redy in place ord^r shall be given to imprese men for to doe the worke. Dated Boston, 17th Feb^y 1671 & Signed

Ɔ

THOMAS SAVAGE, *Clarke.*

To the hon^d the Selectmen for the Towne of Boston,
these.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN said : —

I wish to communicate the copy of a letter which has been preserved among the Winthrop Manuscripts, and recently given to the Groton Public Library by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. The letter was written by the Rev. Dudley Bradstreet, minister of Groton, to his kinsman, Governor Joseph Dudley, and tells plainly the story of the hardships suffered by the inhabitants of the town. The writer was a grand-nephew of the Governor, and the father of Lieutenant Dudley Bradstreet, whose diary at the first siege of Louisbourg is printed in the Proceedings (second series, XI. 417–446) of this Society for January, 1897.

Ten or twelve years before the date of this letter a law was passed which prohibited the desertion of frontier towns by the inhabitants, unless permission was first given by the Governor and Council. There were eleven such towns, and Groton was one of them. The law required the settlers of these out-towns, who owned land or houses, to take out a special license, on pain of forfeiting their property, before they could quit their homes and live elsewhere. This law was limited as to the period of time when it should remain in force; and similar enactments were passed on several subsequent occasions, of

which the last enactment was in force at the date of the letter. The copy is as follows: —

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

GROTON July ult [last day]. 1706.

Neither my employ^{mt} or inclination leads me to intermeddle wth Civill affairs but as I am und^r some ingagments at this place, and in all regards Wish its prosperity, I could not but think it proper to observe to your Excellency (since no one hath already don it) that the languishing circumstances this people are und^r are like to drive many of our principal inhabitants out of Towne to places of more security; One already drawne off, and more Expected daily to follow; which not only tends to the ruin of the Towne, But to y^e Damage of the province, in bringing our frontiers near^r to our Centre, and to the incur-agm^t of the Enemy. having given your Excellency this informatiō I humbly refer this poor place to your farther Care, and protection, and myself particularly to your favour, and am

Your Excellencys, most Obed^t Serv^t

D BRADSTREET.

[Indorsed] D. Bradstreet —

Mr. JOSIAH P. QUINCY communicated the following autobiographical sketch which he had found among his family papers. He had not been able to identify the writer, and had no information as to the source from whence it had come into the possession of his family; but it seemed to possess considerable historical interest.

A Sketch of the Number of Cruises Performed by the Narrator in private Armed Vessels during the War of the Revolution, number Ships and other Vessels Captured, and particularly the awful Catastrophe the loss, &c., of the Brig Gen^l Arnold in the Harbour of Plymouth.

In the Month of April 1776, then several days short of fourteen years of age, I entered on board the private armed Sloop Independence mounting ten Guns, James Magee Commander, which during her Cruise captured three Prizes, one Transport Brig with a cargo for the British Army, and two Schooners from Halifax with a cargo for the west Indies, and got them safe into Newbedford (Mass) during an absence of six or seven Weeks.

The second Cruise which I performed was in the Brig Fairfield of Fairfield, Conn., mounting twelve Guns, William Nott commander, which sailed last from Edgartown (Mass) and cruised several weeks, principally in the tract of the Jamaca fleet bound to England, but unfortunately missed them & made no captures.

On the 22 of January 1777 I entered on board the Ship Marlborough of Providence (R. I.) of twenty guns out and twenty four home, commanded by George Wade Babcock, of South or North Kingston (R. I.); after passing the British, which lay in the Harbour of New Port and Seconnet river, we put for Edgartown harbour to obtain a Compliment of Men and Officers, from whence in a few days she departed and proceeded on her Cruise. About the last of April, 1777, we arrived at the Islands of Deloss on the Coast of Africa, where we destroyed a large Store house belonging to the English, took a Schooner laden with Brass Kettels; Also a little lower down the Coast captured two Ships one laden with Goods, the other with a Cargo of Slaves, which were sent to Martinico where they safely arrived, in the Same Cruise captured a large Brig laden with Ivory and Dye Wood & sent her to the United States, but she was recaptured, On our return to the U. S. when within 30 Leagues of Halifax, we captured the Ship John of Leithe (Scotland) a large Transport richly laden with Supplies for the British Army at New York; she arrived safely in Boston. We also retook a Brig laden with lumber & fish from Newbury Port bound to Cadiz in New Bedford in safety, we likewise captured, which we thought not worth our manning. We arrived with the Marlborough and the Ship John our Prize in Boston in the Month of July of same year, 1777, after an Absence of five or six Months. During this Cruise we captured three Ships two Brigs and one Schooner, all of which safely arrived at the Ports for which we sent them excepting the Brig recaptured as aforesaid richly laden; one third of all the Proceeds went to the United States.

The fourth Cruise which I performed during the War of the Revolution was in the Brig General Arnold of Boston, mounting twenty Guns, James Magee Commander, Manned by one hundred & five Men and Boys, fitted for a Cruise of six Months. They left Boston Roads for Sea the 24th day of December 1778; on the same day late in the afternoon the wind the Wind coming a head could not weather Cape Cod, nor yet reach Boston Harbour, so we put into Plymouth and came to anchor; the Gale continuing to increase the Brig dragged her anchor and drifted on to Browns Shoal, now so called, where she bilged, but on Account of the Severity of the weather we could obtain no relief from the Shore untill the twenty ninth, when Seventy four of the Crew had perished, heaped one upon another in almost every form; after being landed, Nine more died. At this time the Narrator lost the extremities of both of his feet, under the extreme disadvantages and privations whereof he has been suffering for many years.

The last Cruise he performed was in the Sloop Rover belonging, if he recollects, to New London — State of Connecticut — Commanded by one Cap^t Dinnis, mounting ten Guns; the third day after leaving

Marthas Vineyard, Mass, which was the first day of August 1779, being but a few Leagues southerly from New York, the said Vessel was captured by a British Squadron consisting of five or six Sail of Ships, the Reasonable a 64. and several Frigates and Sloops then destined for Penobscot (Me.) where a fleet of American Vessels of War was then laying guarding the coast against the Raviges of the Enemy, commanded by Comodore Saltison who, perceiving the rapid Approach and superior force of the Enemy, after a short Consultation with the several Comanders under his Charge, Ordered fire to be set to the fleet just time enough to make their escape to the shore, who exploring their way through immense forests uninhabited by mortals arrived at Salem and finally to their own homes in safety but greatly to their own and to their Countrys Dishonour.

CORNELIUS MARCHANT.

February 16th 1838.

In connection with the foregoing paper, the PRESIDENT remarked that the discreditable proceedings referred to in the closing paragraph undoubtedly occurred in what was known as the Penobscot Expedition of 1779. This was one of the minor military operations of the War of Independence, concerning which our somewhat over-patriotic American historians have seen fit to preserve a silence as discreet as it has been profound, — a silence under all the circumstances possibly wise, but hardly consistent with a realizing sense of what is known as the spirit of severe historical truth; — for a more utterly discreditable operation could not easily be imagined. His own attention, he said, had first been drawn to the Penobscot expedition through the publication in 1881 by the Weymouth (Mass.) Historical Society, in its first volume of Proceedings, of the diary of General Solomon Lovell, who commanded the land forces engaged. The expedition was undertaken by the State of Massachusetts, although continental officers and ships were contributed to it. The naval contingent was commanded by Commodore Dudley Saltonstall, of Connecticut, a Continental officer; the land forces by General Solomon Lovell, of Weymouth, Massachusetts. The land force was not considerable, amounting only to about one thousand men, a large portion of whom were quite unfit for service, being either boys or too old for field work. It seems to have been a mere raw militia levy. The fleet, however, was really considerable, consisting of some twenty armed vessels, carrying over three

hundred and twenty guns, and manned by two thousand sailors. It was accompanied by upwards of twenty transports, and seems to have been the strongest and best naval armament fitted out on the Patriot side during the whole war. It is interesting to note that Paul Revere took part in the expedition, going in the capacity of Chief of Artillery, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

The Penobscot enterprise would make a good subject for an historical monograph, in connection, for instance, with the Harvard College Historical Studies. There is no reference whatever to it in Bancroft; Professor Fiske has maintained in regard to it the same discreet silence; Barry, in his History of Massachusetts, devotes to it two pages, speaking of it only in the most general way. A fairly sufficient reference to it can be found in William D. Williamson's History of Maine (vol. ii. pp. 468-478) and also in Joseph Williamson's History of Belfast; there is a fuller account in Wheeler's History of Castine, the expedition having been directed against Bagaduce, as Castine was then called. A great deal of original information relating to the expedition doubtless exists, buried in the archives at the State House.

The course of Commodore Dudley Saltonstall was vacillating, and even pusillanimous, in the extreme. He was afraid to strike at the moment when an effective blow could probably have been delivered; and, when actual danger appeared, he ran away, losing at once his own ship, his squadron, and his honor. As is not unfrequently the case, and as he himself must afterwards have bitterly realized, it would have been far better for him had he sunk his ship and lost his life in a desperate, perhaps a mad attempt, to force his way into Castine Bay. As it was, he never recovered from the discredit the failure of the expedition brought upon him.

The President added that a really interesting study could be made of this expedition in connection with Captain Mahan's recently published "Life of Nelson"; for the Castine expedition illustrated every defect in strategy and tactics discussed in that work, and the careful avoidance of which is the lesson to be learned from Nelson's career. Bad in conception, bad in preparation, bad in execution, it naturally ended in disaster and disgrace. In the first place, the expedition was what Captain Mahan always refers to as an excentric operation;

that is, it drew away the strength and resources of one of the contestants from the vital point of the struggle, and wasted them in operations which at best must prove merely ineffective, as in no way influencing the grand result. Indeed, it is not easy to understand how the State of Massachusetts could at that time have fitted out so considerable an expedition for such a purpose. So doing must have taxed its resources to the utmost; and this, too, at a time when Washington and the continental army stood in extreme need of every assistance in the way of men and supplies which could be forthcoming. And yet, such is the element of luck in warfare, there can be little doubt that, had the management of the naval operations then devolved on a man with a spark only of the skill, insight, and nerve which characterized Nelson and Farragut, the Penobscot expedition would have been, though by no possibility an important operation, yet one of the most brilliant of the minor episodes of the War of Independence. Isaac Hull, for instance, would have then captured Castine by a naval operation, on a small scale, very similar to that executed, on a large scale, by Nelson, twenty years later, at the Nile, and by Farragut, in our war of the Rebellion, at New Orleans and at Mobile. As it was, it is hard to escape the conclusion that, under any well-organized naval service, "Dudley Saltonstall, Esq.," as the naval commander of the lamentable Penobscot expedition is designated, would have been sent by a Court of Inquiry before a Naval Court Martial on the charge of cowardice in presence of the enemy; in which case he must unquestionably have been found guilty, and should have been shot.

Especially at this time, a somewhat careful study of the forgotten Penobscot expedition, both in itself and in its connection with the larger operations at that time going on, would, therefore, be curious as well as both interesting and profitable.

Mr. JOHN T. HASSAM communicated the following paper on the Early Recorders and Registers of Deeds for Suffolk County: —

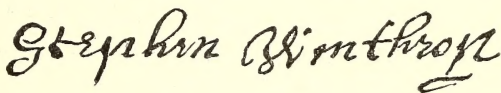
Early Recorders and Registers of Deeds for the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts. 1639-1735.

In the introduction to the first volume of Suffolk Deeds, which was printed in 1880 by order of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Boston, acting as County Commissioners for the County of Suffolk, I gave certain extracts from the Colony Records showing the gradual development of our present system of recording conveyances of land. I purpose now to present the result of some researches in regard to those who in an official capacity, either as Recorders, Clerks, or Registers of Deeds, administered this system in the County of Suffolk during the first century of our history, or rather from 1639, when the office of Recorder was first created, down to the year 1735, beginning with Stephen Winthrop, the first Recorder, and ending with John Ballantine, who died in the latter year, while holding the office of Register of Deeds for the County.

STEPHEN WINTHROP.

1639-1644.

Stephen Winthrop, the fourth son of Governor John Winthrop and the first by his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Tyndal, was born in Groton, Co. Suffolk, England, March 24, 1618.



"The Ladye Anne Tyndal was his godmother and M^r Steven Egerton, her brother, & M^r Deane Tindal, her son, were his godfathers."¹

In a little volume in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop is the following entry:—

"On Wensdaye the 24th of Marche 1618, Marg^t my wife was delivered of a sonne, whereof I desire to leave this testimonye of my thankfullnesse unto God, that she beeing above 40 houres in sore travayle, so it beganne to be doubted of hir life, yet the Lord sent hir a safe deliverance."²

He came with his father in 1630 in the "Arbella" to New England, being then twelve years of age.³ He was made a

¹ Muskett's Suffolk Manorial Families, I. Pt. I. 8.

² Life and Letters of John Winthrop, I. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 6.

member of the First Church in Boston, 16 : 1 : 1634,¹ and was admitted freeman December 7, 1636.²

His brother, John Winthrop, Jr., had made in 1635, for Lord Say and Seal and his associates, a new plantation at the mouth of the Connecticut River; and Stephen shortly after joined him, for Governor Winthrop, in a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., under date of 26th 2^{mo} 1636, says:—

“Your brother Stephen was desirous to come to you. If you have any employment for him, you may keep him, otherwise you may return him back.”³

And again, under date of 23 4^{mo} 1636, —

“I must end, with remembrance of mine own and your mother’s love & blessing to you & to Stephen.”⁴

Lieutenant Lion Gardener, who was sent over in November, 1635, by Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook to construct a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, in his “Relation of the Pequot Warres,”⁵ says:—

“In the year 1635, I, Lion Gardener, Engineer and Master of works of Fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, through the persuasion of Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Hugh Peters with some other well-affected Englishmen of Rotterdam, I made an agreement with the forenamed Mr. Peters for £100 per annum, for four years, to serve the company of patentees, namely, the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks [Brook], Sir Arthur Hazilrig, Sir Mathew Bonnington [Bonighton?], Sir Richard Saltingstone [Saltonstall], Esquire Fenwick, and the rest of their company, [I say] I was to serve them only in the drawing, ordering and making of a city, towns or forts of defence. And so I came from Holland to London, and from thence to New England, where I was appointed to attend such orders as Mr. John Winthrop, Esquire, the present Governor of Conectecott, was to appoint, whether at Pequit [Pequot] river, or Conectecott, and that we should choose a place both for the convenience of a good harbour, and also for capableness and fitness for fortification. . . . Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Peters promised me that they would do their utmost endeavour to persuade

¹ Gov. John Winthrop’s Journal, I. 126; Memorial History of Boston, I. 568.

² Mass. Col. Records, I. 372.

³ Gov. John Winthrop’s Journal, I. 389.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 392.

⁵ Gardener’s Pequot Warres. 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., III. 131-160.

the Bay-men to desist from war a year or two, till we could be better provided for it; and then the Pequit Sachem was sent for, and the present returned, but full sore against my will. So they three returned to Boston, and two or three days after came an Indian from Pequit, whose name was Cocommithus, who had lived at Plimoth, and could speak good English; he desired that Mr. Steven [Stephen] Winthrop would go to Pequit with an £100 worth of trucking cloth and all other trading ware for they knew that we had a great cargo of goods of Mr. Pincheon's, and Mr. Steven Winthrop had the disposing of it. And he said that if he would come he might put off all his goods, and the Pequit Sachem would give him two horses that had been there a great while. So I sent the Shallop, with Mr. Steven Winthrop, Sergeant Tille [Tilly], (whom we called afterward Sergeant Kettle, because he put the kettle on his head,) and Thomas Hurlbut and three men more, charging them that they should ride in the middle of the river, and not go ashore until they had done all their trade, and that Mr. Steven Winthrop should stand in the hold of the boat, having their guns by them, and swords by their sides, the other four to be, two in the fore cuddie, and two in aft, being armed in like manner, that so they out of the loop-holes might clear the boat, if they were by the Pequits assaulted; and that they should let but one canoe come aboard at once, with no more but four Indians in her, and when she had traded then another, and that they should lie no longer there than one day, and at night to go out of the river; and if they brought the two horses, to take them in at a clear piece of land at the mouth of the River, two of them go ashore to help the horses in, and the rest stand ready with their guns in their hands, if need were, to defend them from the Pequits, for I durst not trust them. So they went and found but little trade, and they having forgotten what I charged them, Thomas Hurlbut and one more went ashore to boil the kettle, and Thomas Hurlbut stepping into the Sachem's wigwam, not far from the shore, enquiring for the horses, the Indians went out of the wigwam, and Wincumbone, his mother's sister, was then the great Pequit Sachem's wife, who made signs to him that he should be gone, for they would cut off his head; which, when he perceived, he drew his sword and ran to the others, and got aboard, and immediately came abundance of Indians to the waterside and called them to come ashore, but they immediately set sail and came home, and this caused me to keep watch and ward, for I saw they plotted our destruction. And suddenly after came Capt. Endecott, Capt. Turner, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with a company of soldiers, well fitted, to Seabrook, and made that place their rendezvous or seat of war, and that to my great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you

will take wing and flee away; but when I had seen their commission I wondered, and made many allegations against the manner of it, but go they did to Pequit, and as they came without acquainting any of us in the River with it, so they went against our will; for I knew that I should lose our cornfield."

Stephen Winthrop was in England in 1638, as is shown by a letter from him to his mother¹ dated March 20, 1637-[8]; but his absence could not have been of long duration, and he again returned to Boston, for John Winthrop, Jr., in a letter² written from "Riall Side," then part of Salem, now of Beverly, probably in May, 1639, and addressed "to my dear Wife Mrs. Elizabeth Winthrop, at Boston," says:—

"When my brother Stephen went hence I was not up; nor well, so that I could not write to thee. . . . Put my brother Stephen in mind to send me my carbine, as he promised me. . . . My brother Stephen hath promised to bring thee home when thou comest."

By order of the General Court held in Boston, September 9, 1639,³

"Mr. Steven Winthrop was chosen to record things."

Lechford, in his "Plain Dealing," London, 1642, says:—

"Master *Stephen Winthrop* is Recorder, whose office is to record all Judgments, Mariages, Births, Deaths, Wills and Testaments, Bargaines and Sales, Gifts, Grants, and Mortgages."⁴

The General Court, October 7, 1640, provided for the keeping of records at Ipswich and Salem, "all the rest to bee entered by M^r Stephen Winthrope, the recorder at Boston."⁵

He joined the Artillery Company in 1641.⁶

September 27, 1642, the General Court ordered that "M^r Stephen Winthrop hath liberty to go for England."⁷ He did not go immediately, however, as he still continued to act as Recorder in 1643 and 1644. In the latter year he was deputy from Strawberry Bank to the General Court.⁸ The next year

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII. 199.

² Gov. John Winthrop's Journal, I. 394.

³ Mass. Col. Records, I. 276.

⁴ Lechford's Plain Dealing or Newes from New England, p. 38.

⁵ Mass. Col. Records, I. 306, 307.

⁶ Roberts' History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, pp. 112, 118.

⁷ Mass. Col. Records, II. 28.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III. 2.

he sailed for England, then in the midst of the Civil War. He was Captain of a troop of horse, then Major and afterwards Colonel in Cromwell's Army, and it was at one time thought that he was to succeed Major-General Harrison.¹ He sat in Parliament in 1656 as member for Banff and Aberdeen, Scotland.² The few letters³ which he wrote from England during this part of his life are of much interest, but only brief extracts can be printed here.

In a letter to his brother, John Winthrop, Jr., dated London, March 27, 1646, he writes:—

“God hath been pleased to give me a safe arrivall to London, were we find all o' freinds in health & y^e kingdome eased of many of theire feares in respect of y^e Kings p^{te}.”

In another, dated Worcester, August 23, 1646, he says:—

“This kingdome is yet much vnsetled, although heere be noe enemy appearinge, y^e king will not signe y^e p^{ro}positions nor yeild to y^e Parla^t, w^{ch} causes many jelousies.”

In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated 26 8: 1646, Governor Winthrop writes of him:—

¹ “Youre brother Stephen succeedes Major Gen^l Harrison.” Letter from Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr., dated Providence 21 12, 1655-6 (3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., X. 18; Publications of the Narragansett Club, VI. 297).

² In Thurloe's State Papers (V. 366) is the following letter from General Monck to Secretary Thurloe:—

“HONOURED SIR, — This inclosed letter coming to my hands, I thought fit to send it to you, and I shall write to the governor of Orkney, to take the informations upon oath, concerning this busines, which when it comes from thence, I shall send to you. All our parliament men are chosen here, but you will know few of them but such as are English. The Englishmen that are chosen are, the lord Broghill, sir Edward Rhodes, Mr. Disborow, col. Whetham, judge Swinton, col. Winthrop, col. Fitch, judge Smyth, col. Salmon, Dr. Clarges, Mr. Godfrey Rhodes, Mr. Thomas Stuart, col. Henry Markhom, judge advocate Whally and scout master general Downing; and the rest are honest and peaceable Scotchmen, and I believe will be all right for my lord protector, which I thought fit to nominate, because they are not known to you. I remain

Your very loving friend and humble servant,

GEORGE MONCK.

DALKEITH 30 August, 1656.”

In the Diary of Thomas Burton (IV. 499) Colonel Winthrop is on the list of speakers in Parliament in 1656.

He served on the Committee of Privileges, Committee for the Affairs of Scotland and other Committees. (Journal of the House of Commons, VII. pp. 424, 428, 433, 457.)

³ Winthrop Papers, 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII. 199-218.

"Your brother hath again sent for his wife, and it seems means to stay in England with his brother Rainsborow, who is governour of Worcester, and he is captain of a troop of horse." ¹

And again, under date of 14 (3) 1647: —

"I hear that Col. Rainsborow is gone for Ireland, and, I fear, your brother Stephen is then gone with him." ²

In a letter ³ to his father dated London, July 29, 1647, he describes his reasons for not returning to New England, and adds: —

"Things standing thus & Providence opening a way of employ^{mt} in y^e Army, I have accepted of it seeing noe dore open to me anywhere else of being serviceable in my generation or of gaining better subsistance to those God hath comitted to my care, & hope I shall not be lesse inabled to be a comfort or helpe to yo^rselfe, my mother & brethren."

In a letter to his father dated Reigate, England, March 2, 1647-8, he says: —

"I received you^{rs} by my wif, who (through God his goodnes) is safly arrived heere wth her litle ones, for all w^{ch} mercy I desire I may be fownd answerably thankfull."

In a letter to his brother, John Winthrop, Jr., dated July 14, 1650, he writes: —

"The newes heere you will haue more new then I cann tell you, for I am in Wales, & am left wth some horrsse to keepe quiett these partts. My Lord Cromwell is made Lord Gen^l of all the forces (my Lord Fairfax laying downe his commision) & is marching into Scotland wth all speed, if not there by this time. . . . I pray advise my brother Adam what to doe wth my farme & iland & howse, y^t it may be repayed & yield me something to live on hereafter: for I expect not to settle in England, but to returne amongst you when I may not be burdensome, but rather helpful. My wife is well, salutes you all very kindly & loves New England well."

In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated 7 (9) 1648, Governor Winthrop says: —

"I received also a letter from your brother Stephen, who was in all those northern wars against the Scots, and (I perceive) did good ser-

¹ Gov. John Winthrop's Journal, II. 351.

² *Ibid.*, II. 354.

³ 2 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., XI. 6.

vice; and the Lord was graciously pleased to preserve him, that he was come safe to London 7 (7) and I hope his heart is with the Lord, for he writes christianly: and he and his wife sit down meekly under the Lord's correction in taking away their two children by the small pox at London, after they had been driven from Deal to Harwich and so to Ipswich and then to London for fear of Goring's army."¹

His brother Adam Winthrop writes to John Winthrop, Jr., under date of August 2, 1652:—

"You have heer enclosed a letter from my brother Stephen. I soppose he informes you of his abode at Maribone Parke. He has purchased a house and parte of the parke."²

Roger Williams, writing from Sir Henry Vane's at Whitehall, 20: 2: 1652, to John Winthrop, Jr., says:—

"Your bro. Stephen is a great man for soule libertie";³
and again from Providence, after his return to Rhode Island, under date of July 12, 1654:—

"I was at the lodgings of Major Winthrop. . . . Youre brother flourisheth in good esteeme, and is eminent for maintaining the Freedome of the Conscience as to matters of Beliefe, Religion and Worship."⁴

In a letter to his brother, John Winthrop, Jr., dated Kensington, August 2, 1653, Stephen Winthrop says:—

"Could I be assured of my health, I thinck I should come away imeadiatly, for I have noe health heare & I have beene this two years extreamly troubled wth the *zeatica* & am just now goeing to the Bath to see if y^t may remedy it. My much lying in y^e wet feilds vppon the grownd hath brought it vppon me, as it hath vppon many others. It makes my life very vncomfortable. . . . At present the warres betweene the Dutch & we contynue, though we have twice this somere beaten theire maine fleet, consisting off 120 of theire best men of warre: and at last blocked them vpp in theire harbors for severall weeks, though we heare by reports they are gott out againe & we expect a new engagement."

In a letter to his brother, John Winthrop, Jr., dated Westminster, March 11, 1654 [5], he writes:—

¹ Gov. John Winthrop's Journal, II. 357.

² 5 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII. 229.

³ 4 *Ibid.*, VI. 286; Publications of the Narragansett Club, VI. 234.

⁴ 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., X. 1; Publications of the Narragansett Club, VI. 258.

"I doe not give over thoughts of N. E. ; yet the cold weather is my greatest discourag^{mt}, & while I am heere I am troubled wth Journyes into Scotland, w^{ch} is as badd almost. I think I shall goe againe about a month hence, but then I hope to take my farewell of itt."

In a letter to his brother, John Winthrop, Jr., dated April 14, 1657, he writes : —

"HONORED BROTHER, — I received one from you by the last shipp as I supose ; but it was very long before it came to my hands. They came in a time when I was very sick, being forced to keepe my chamber & howse most partt of this winter ; w^{ch} hindered me from attending to y^t buisnes you writt about, of repaire of yo^r losses by y^e men of warre. . . . Sir, I thancke you very kindly for yo^r care & inspection into my pore litle buisnes in N. E. & hope I shall still bee behouldinge to you for your advice ; for indeed I valew those things more, it may be, then some doe, & thinke N. E. may have its times to florish againe, espetiall if they could gitt vpp some good manufactures. I hope the worst is past wth them, & y^t subsistance wilbe easier gained heerafter. Indeed I had need hope well of it ; for it is the best portion I am able or like to give my sonne, who is yet but a litle one, not above two monthes old. I thanck God my wife & all of vs are indifferent well at this time, though I have not my health longe together heer. [The] eyre is two moist for me & breeds rumes & coughes."

He did not live to return to New England, but died in London in 1658, and, by his own desire, was buried in Groton with his ancestors.

His will, dated May 3, 1658, probated in London August 19, 1658, in which he styles himself of James Street, Westminster, Esq., contains this provision : —

"To the Poore of Boston in New England one hundred pounds of lawful money of England vpon condition that the Inhabitants of Boston aforesaid doe build and erect a Tomb or Monument. Tombes or Monuments, for my deceased father and Mother vpon theire Grave or Graves of fiftie pounds value att the least, whoe now lyeth buried att Boston aforesaid, according to the love and honour they bore to him and her in theire lifetime." ¹

¹ Muskett's Suffolk Manorial Families, I. Pt. I. 20, 21.

This is said to be the earliest provision for the poor in Boston, of the character of contribution, of which there is any authentic record. (Memorial History of Boston, IV. 656.)

An abstract of this will was published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1886 (XL. 161, 162) (Waters' Genealogical Glean-

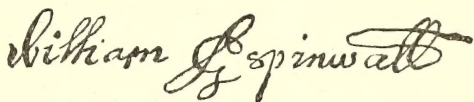
He married early, probably in Boston, Judith, sister of Colonel William Rainsborough.¹ Of his children, some born in Boston, others in England, only two daughters were living at the time of his death. His widow survived him.

WILLIAM ASPINWALL.

1644-1651.

William Aspinwall probably came in the fleet with Governor Winthrop. He was of Charlestown in 1630,² and of Boston after 1633.

His name is the tenth in the list of original members of



the First Church in Boston,³ the covenant being dated Charlestown, August 27, 1630. His wife Elizabeth was the sixteenth in that list. He was the second in the list of thirteen who remained inhabitants in Charlestown in 1630. September 28, 1630, he was one of the jury impanelled to inquire concerning the death at "Mr Cradocks plantacon" of Austin Bratcher.⁴ He took the oath of freeman April 3, 1632.⁵

He was one of the Selectmen of Boston in 1636 and 1637,⁶ and was chosen deputy to the General Court in 1637⁷ in place of Sir Henry Vane; but as he was a supporter of Wheelwright in the "Antinomian Controversy"⁸ and had signed a remonstrance in his favor, the Court deposed him from membership by the following order,⁹ passed November 2, 1637: —

ings in England, I. 162), with a short summary of the life of the testator, by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., Esq., of Boston. He adds: "My kinsman Robert Winthrop of New York, has a portrait (of which I have a copy) of a young officer of the Stuart period, which has been in our family for generations, and is called 'Colonel Stephen Winthrop, M. P.' If authentic, it must have either been sent by him as a present to his father before his death, or subsequently procured by his brother John or his nephew Fitz-John, during their residence in England."

¹ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XL. 168. See also Musket's Suffolk Manorial Families, I. Pt. IV. 159, for the Rainsborough pedigree.

² Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, I. 25.

³ Memorial History of Boston, I. 566.

⁴ Mass. Col. Records, I. 77.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 367.

⁶ Boston Town Records, I. 6, 15.

⁷ Mass. Col. Records, I. 200; Boston Town Records, I. 15.

⁸ Memorial History of Boston, I. 173-176; Drake's History of Boston, 218-230.

⁹ Mass. Col. Records, I. 205.

"Mr William Aspinwall being questioned in regard his hand was to a petition or remonstrance, & he iustified the same, maintaining it to bee lawfull; the Court did discharge him from being a member thereof."

By the following order¹ of the same date he was disfranchised and banished:—

"Mr Willi: Aspinwall being convented for haveing his hand to a petition or remonstrance, being a seditious libell, & iustifying the same, for we^h, & for his insolent & turbulent carriage, hee is disfranchized & banished, puting in sureties for his departure before the end of the first month next ensuing.

"Mr John Glover & Mr Aspinwall are each of them bound in a 100^l a peece for Mr Aspinwals depture by the time limited."

With others, "seduced & led into dangerous errors" by the "opinions & revelations of Mr Wheelewright & M^{rs} Hutchinson," he was disarmed by an order of the General Court of November 20, 1637.²

With others of "y^e opinionists," thus disarmed, disfranchised, and banished, he joined in the movement to found a new colony in Rhode Island, and he was one of those who, on the 7th day of the 1st month, 1638, "solemnly in the presence of Jehovah," incorporated themselves "into a Bodie Politick"³ signing the compact at Portsmouth, Rhode Island. He was the first Secretary of the infant Colony.

But his life in Rhode Island was not destined to be a peaceful one, as the following order,⁴ passed 7th 12^{mo} 1638-9, shows:—

"Mr. Aspinwall being a suspected person for sedition against the State, it was thought meet that a stay of the building of his Bote should be made; whereupon y^e workman was forbidden to proceed any further."

And on the 28th 2^{mo} 1639,⁵ his shallop was attached for debt.

He was in Connecticut in 1642, and was a witness in the case of George Spencer⁶ at a General Court held at New Haven, March 2, 1641-2.

At a General Court held at Boston, October 7, 1641, the following order⁷ was passed:—

¹ Mass. Col. Records, I. 207.

² *Ibid.*, I. 211.

³ R. I. Col. Records, I. 52, 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 69.

⁶ New Haven Col. Records, I. 67.

⁷ Mass. Col. Records, I. 338.

“Willi: Aspinwall hath a safe conduct granted him to come & satisfy the counsell, &, if they thinke meete, to stay till the Generall Court; if not, hee is to depart till the Generall Court, & then hee hath liberty to come to the Gen^lall Court.”

At a General Court held at Boston May 20, 1642, the following order¹ was passed:—

“William Aspinwall, upon his petition & cirtificat of his good carriage, is restored againe to his former liberty & freedome.”

Governor Winthrop, under date of March 27, 1642,² gives this account of it:—

“Mr. William Aspenwall who had been banished as is before declared, for joining with Mr. Wheelwright, being licensed by the general court to come and tender his submission &c was this day reconciled to the church of Boston. He made a very free and full acknowledgment of his errour and seducement and that with much detestation of his sin. The like he did after, before the magistrates, who were appointed by the court to take his submission, and upon their certificate thereof at the next general court his sentence of banishment was released.”

Having made his peace with the Massachusetts authorities, his advancement was rapid. At a General Court of Election held in Boston, September 7, 1643,—

“Mr Willi Aspinwall is appointed clarke of the writts for Boston.”³

At a General Court of Election held in Boston, November 13, 1644,—

“Mr. Aspinwall is chosen Recorder till y^e next Co^rt of Election”;⁴ and on the same day —

“It is ordered, y^t M^r Willi: Aspinwall shalbe a publike notary for this iurisdiction.”⁵

He joined the Artillery Company in 1643.⁶

The merchants of Boston, attempting to secure a monopoly of the Indian trade, procured a charter from the General Court.⁷

¹ Mass. Col. Records, II. 3 (2d ed.); Whitmore's Colonial Laws, Boston, 1889, Preface, xvi.

² Gov. John Winthrop's Journal, II. 62.

³ Mass. Col. Records, II. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.* II. 86.

⁶ Roberts' History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, p. 125.

⁷ Mass. Col. Records, II. 60.

This was granted March 7, 1643-4, in answer to the petition of William Aspinwall and six others. Governor Winthrop's account is as follows :—

“Divers of the merchants of Boston being desirous to discover the great lake, supposing it to lie in the northwest part of our patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver which came to all the eastern and southern parts, came from thence, petitioned the court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade which they should discover, to themselves for twenty-one years. The court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire; whereupon, having also commission granted them under the public seal, and letters from the governour to the Dutch and Sweedish governours, they sent out a pinnace, well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up the Delaware river so high as they could go, and then some of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aspenwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass by small skiffs, or canoes up the river so far as they could.”¹

But Aspinwall and his party were not allowed to penetrate to the beaver country, the Swedes firing upon them and the Dutch higher up the river refusing to allow them to pass.²

But more troubles were in store for him, for at the second session of the General Court held at Boston October 14, 1651, the following order³ was passed :—

“In answer to the petiçon of John Butten, Benj^a Ward, Thomas Matson, Willjam Ludkin, and others of a jury appointed to serve in the last County Court held at Boston, in an acçon betweene M^r W^m Aspinwall and John Witherden, the Courte doth order that M^r Aspinwall be convented before the whole Courte on the morrow, being 23 8^{mo} 1651, to give answer to such things as are chardged vpon him in this and Witherdens petiçon. The partjes appeared at the time appointed, and after the Court had fully heard the cawse, and what both partjes could say, the Court proceeded to judgm^{nt}. Itt is ordered, that henceforth M^r W^m Aspinwall shall be suspended from excercising the office of recorder or clarke in any County Courte, for chardging the Courte and jury to goe against lawe and conscience, making the landlord to pay rent to the tennant, and shall pay the soñe of thirty shillings for the jurjes attendance and entring the petiçon, wth fower shillings for two wittnesses attendance.

¹ Gov. John Winthrop's Journal, II. 160.

² *Ibid.*, II. 178, 179, 187; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XXVIII. 42-50.

³ Mass. Col. Records, IV. Part I. 68. Cf. *Ibid.*, III. 257.

"It is ordered, that M^r Edward Rawson, present secretary to the Generall Courte, shall henceforth be recorder for the county of Suffolke, and that M^r Aspinwall deliuer him all the records belonging to the sajd county.

"It is ordered, that Jonathan Negus, at the request of the toune of Boston, shall henceforth be clarke of the writts for the toune of Boston, in M^r Aspinwalls roome, who is to give him the records of deaths, births, and marrjages, in his hands, y^t belongs to that office."

At the second session of the General Court held at Boston October 26, 1652,¹

"M^r Nathaniell Souther is appointed publicke notary for this jurisdiction, in the roome of M^r W^m Aspinwall, and tooke the oath suiteable to the place in open Courte."

He addressed the following letter, dated 24 : 5^{mo} 1652, to the General Court :² —

"May it please yo^w to consider, that manifold haue beene the afflictions I haue suffered since I came into this Country, and it adds vnto them the late order you made that I should deliver vp my bookes vnto the secretary, but most of all afflictiue is, that my late troubles haue sprung from brethren. As for others they doe but theire kind. I justify not myselfe but condemne my folly. Yo^w know it that, *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit*.^[3] And though it be my portion to suffer the more, for that I haue beene yo^r officer (most vnworthy I confesse) yet if ever occasion should be: be pleased to be tender of yo^r officers especially of their names & creditt & suffer them not to be objects of publick scorne & reproach. If they be godly or ingenuous an admonition or checke may suffice to redresse any thing weakly & foolishly done, but if they grow corrupt through bribes or otherwise vnfaithfull to theire trust, justice will require it to make them exemplary. ffor my selfe I haue little to say (being conscious of many weake & feeble passages) only this, I haue desired to be faithfull, & my aime hath beene the Hono^r of God & his vice-gerents, the publick good of the Country, & private of pticular psons. In reference to yo^r late order giue me leave I beseech yo^w wthout offence to giue yo^w an Account why I haue not delivered the bookes vnto the Secretary, but rather voluntarily chosen to leave them wth M^r Cotton.

¹ Mass. Col. Records, IV. Part I. 118.

² Mass. Archives, LXXXVIII. 384, 385. The Notarial Record kept by William Aspinwall from Dec. 20, 1644, to July 4, 1651, has recently been discovered (2 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., XI. 184). It will shortly be published by the Record Commissioners.

³ "Quid quod nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit?" Plinius major, Nat. Hist., VII. 41. 2.

1. They are no publick Records, as I take it, nor can be ; but privat Records of my owne Acts, of w^{ch} I could not otherwise be able at any time to giue Account, nor be able to discerne any corruption or adulteration that possibly might be foisted in after the writeings passe my hand, f[or] w^{ch} ends I thought it necessary to keepe such a Register. And I wanted not the advice of him herein, whom yo^w all will owne as a Nursing father to this Colonie whilst he lived.

2^{ndly} Vules it were the practise of other Nations so to doe, w^{ch} I believe it is not, according to that intelligence I haue had, it will reflect some imputation or suspition of vnfaithfulness vppon me to take them away by an order ; & that will weaken the Credit of the bookes themselves or any thing to be out of them. ffor such as is the Credit of the pson, such wilbe the credit of his acts & bookes, & that is the Reason why the State & Government doe putt credit vppon the pson, by designeing him to such a Co^mon service, & therefore as they are carefull to choose such psons for that purpose as are qualified, & have variety of tongues (at least the Latin tongue) so specially they doe take care (or should) that they be faithfull, in whose truth men may confide.

3^{ly}. It would be prejudiciall both to my selfe, & all therein concerned to take them away. ffor no man can safely & effectually attest any thing out of my privat writeings but my selfe, nor shall I be able to attest any thing when my bookes are taken away.

4^{ly}. Very many things therein, for brevity sake, are registred in such a method, w^{ch} none but my selfe or by instructions from me can make vse of ; they being intended for my privat vse, & my owne voluntary act w^hout instructions or injunctions from the Generall Court.

5^{ly} The most of the things therein contained relate to England whither I am going, & hope may be of more use there, both to the Country & any pticular therein concerned ; intending the Lord pmitting to make my residence in or about London, where any may haue easie Recourse for my attest.

6^{ly}. The bookes are mine owne, bought at my owne chardge, & the Register therein my owne voluntary & handy worke, and as proply mine as any thing I possesse is mine. These things considered I did resolve (before yo^r order) & not wthout advice of some that knew the practise & custome of other places to take my bookes wth mee, concluding this wth my selfe, that as I haue beene & am, so through the help of Christ I shall remaine cordially affected & tenderly carefull of the good & welfare of his Israel as any opportunity of Providence shall present. But lest I should be grievous or offensiuie to yo^w whom I loue and honour, I haue determined to leave them in the hands of M^r Cotton, vppon promise of the Speciall Court, & confidence of yo^r approbation, that there they shall remaine vntill yo^w may vnderstand from M^r Winslow what is vsuall to be done in such cases of death or removal

of Notary into another Country. By this Accomodation yo^r ends are attained, that any who haue occasion may haue copies of any writeing by M^r Rawson, if he please hither to repaire, or if yo^w judge it vseful and necessary, yo^w may appoint them to be transcribed & returne me mine if advise so guide.

Let yo^r gent[le]nes excuse these vnpolished lines & vouchsafe I pray yo^w to gratify my desire, & I shal remaine doubly engadged & devoted to yo^r service in the other England as wel as this, & Account it to be mine honour to be

Yo^r humble faithful servant

WILLIAM ASPINWALL.

postsc. However I concluded at the last Speciall Court, as aboue, wth promise to deliver them as is s^d Yet the Magistrates being mett at the Lecture, & M^r Hibbins moveing me to condescend to deliver them to him who said he would intrust them wth M^r Rawson, as of him selfe; & fearing lest some others who wish not well to the Court or Country might make ill vse of my Act, to a farre worse end; I could not neglect his motion, much lesse could I haue had the hart to deny yo^rselves, had yo^w but in the least intimated yo^r will or pleasure in such a matter (when I was wth yo^w) wthout any order or injunction at all; Pray yo^w let not my compliance to yo^r minds, prejudice me in a due consideration of what might be meete to doe in or about them; neither impute it to the Stifnes of my Will (as some are too apt to doe) that I haue demurred herevppon. Yo^w will find it necessary to deale tenderly wth yo^r Officers & not admitt of any discouragment or disparagments vnneccessarily. As for my selfe I confesse my owne weaknes & vnworthines to be improved by yo^w. Yo^w haue store of others much more apt & fitt, & many more may yo^w haue. Only be pleased to accept of what poore service God hath helped me to doe, covering my weaknessess, & if God giue strength & opportunity I shall rejoyce to be serviceable to yo^w whilst life lasts, & as in duty I am bound; pray for yo^r peace & prosperity, still subscribing myselfe

Yo^r Servant to his power

WILLIAM ASPINWALL.

Boston 24th of the 5th mo. 1652.

To the Honoured Generall Court these present."

He was living in England as late as 1662, as appears by a letter from him dated Chester 13th (2^o), 1662, in the Massachusetts Archives:¹—

"RIGHT WOR^{sh},—May it please yo^w to looke on me as a friend, & one of yo^w, though farre Remote, not Willingly but of necessity, & mediat for me to the Gen^l Court, that that smale parcel of land in Boston

¹ Mass. Archives, B. XV. 163.

whereon the Mill stood w^{ch} was mine owne purchase (& never aliened as I suppose the Court Records will evince, wh^{ch} land I gaue to my Son) may not be aliened by an Act of the Court from the true Owner hereof & his Sonne who is a Native & ffreeborne subject vnto yo^r Government. In so doeing yo^w shall oblige me to acknowledge both yo^r Justice & favor. S^r: I may not enlarge to speak how affaires goe wth vs, yo^w heare it from better hands. I can only assure yo^w that Capt Breedon & M^r Maverick are yo^r back friends, & wanted not to doe yo^w all the disservice they could, as a pson of quality informed me, who once & againe laid a stopper vppon their proceedings. I doubt not, but yo^w heare as much & a great deale more then I can informe yo^w. But whilst yo^w make Christ yo^r friend yo^w need not much to care who are yo^r foes; he both can & will protect his owne plantation, w^{ch} is the prayer of

Yo^r humble servant

WILLIAM ASPINWALL.

CHESTER 13th (2^o) 1662."

By his wife Elizabeth he had six children born in Boston, as appears by the Boston Records.

He was the author of the following works:—

A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdome that shortly is to come into the World the Monarch, Subjects, Officers and Lawes thereof. By W. Aspinwall. London, Printed by M. Simmons for Livewell Chapman, 1653.

An Explication and Application of the seventh chapter of Daniel; with a correction of the translation. Wherein is briefly shewed the state and downfall of the Four Monarchies . . . and the ten horns or kingdomes; and in particular, the beheading of Charles Stuart, who is proved to be the little horn, *etc.* London, 1653.

The Work of the Age; or the sealed prophecies of Daniel opened and applied . . . Amending sundry places in our common translation, *etc.* London, 1655.

An Abstract of Laws and Government, Wherein as in a Mirrour may be seen the Wisdome & perfection of the Government of Christ's Kingdome. Accommodable to any state or form of Government in the World, that is not Antichristian or Tyrannicall. Collected and digested into the ensuing Method, by that Godly, Grave and Judicious Divine, Mr. John Cotton, of Boston in New England, in his Lifetime, and presented to the Generall Court of the Massachusetts. And now published after his death by William Aspinwall. London. Printed by M. S. for Livewel Chapman, and are to be sold at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. 1655.¹

¹ See Whitmore's Colonial Laws, 1660-1672. Boston, 1889. Introd. pp. 1-14.

A Premonition of sundry Sad Calamities yet to Come; grounded upon an Explication of the 24th Chapter of Isaiah. London, 1655.

The Legislative Power is Christ's peculiar prerogative. Proved from the 9th of Isaiah vers. 6, 7. By W. A. London. Livewell Chapman. 1656.

Abrogation of the Christian Sabbath. By William Aspinwall. London. 1657.

An Abstract or [*sic*] the Lawes of New-England, as they are now established. London. Printed for F. Coules and W. Ley at Paules Chain, 1641.

EDWARD RAWSON.

1651-1670.

Edward Rawson, son of David Rawson, citizen and merchant tailor of London, was born in England, April 15, 1615.¹

He married, in England, Rachel Perne, daughter of Richard and Rachel Perne, of Gillingham, Co. Dorset, came to New England in 1636 or 1637,

and settled in Newbury, Massachusetts. He took the oath of freeman, March, 1637-8.² July 6, 1638, he was chosen one of the Selectmen of Newbury, and, November 19 in the same year, "the publick notary and Register for the towne of Newbury," being allowed "five pounds per annum for his paynes."³ He was one of the three chosen, September 6, 1638, and again May 6, 1646, to hear and determine small causes in Newbury,⁴ and, November 4 of the latter year, was appointed a Commissioner "to see people ioyne in marriage in Newbury."⁵ He

Edw. Rawson

¹ The Rawson Family, by Sullivan S. Rawson, Boston, 1849; The Rawson Family, by E. B. Crane, 1875; Ancestry of Edward Rawson, by E. B. Crane, 1887; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, III. 201, 297, 405; XXIII. 22; XXX. 262; XXXI. 324; XXXVIII. 309-312; XXXIX. 52-61, 85, 290; XL. 49; XLII. 175, 178, 179; XLIV. 132; XLVII. 192.

Judge Sewall during his sojourn in England in 1688 and 1689 visited Gillingham (Sewall's Diary, I. 296, 297); and in an interleaved almanac made the following entry, March 1, 1688-9: "To Gillingham a convenient place. Lay at the Red Lion. Deliver'd my Letters to m^r. Richard and Jⁿe Pern." "Gillingham March 2^d 1688/9, Recd. of Mr. John Pern One Guiney to give to Mr. Edward Rawson with a Letter."

² Mass. Col. Records, I. 374.

³ Coffin's History of Newbury, 27, 28.

⁴ Mass. Col. Records, I. 239; II. 148; III. 64.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 166; III. 83.

was Deputy from Newbury to the General Court in 1638, 1639, 1642, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, and 1649,¹ and was chosen June 18, 1645, and May 2, 1649, Clerk of the House of Deputies.²

In 1650 he removed to Boston. May 22d of that year he was chosen Secretary of the Colony,³ an office which he held until 1686, being annually chosen thereto by the General Court.⁴ Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England," published in London in 1654,⁵ says of him:—

"Mr. *Edward Rawson* a young man, yet imployed in Commonwealth affaires a long time, being well beloved of the inhabitants of *Newbery*, having had a large hand in her Foundation; but of late he being of a ripe capacity, a good yeoman and eloquent inditer, hath beene chosen Secretary for the Country."

On the removal of Aspinwall from the office of Recorder October 14 or 23, 1651, the General Court ordered⁶ that:—

"Mr Edward Rawson, present secretary to the Generall Courte, shall henceforth be the recorder for the county of Suffolke, and that Mr Aspinwall deliuer him all the records belonging to the sajd County."

He held the office of Recorder until October, 1670, when the General Court at its second session, held in Boston, October 12, 1670, passed the following "Order requiring y^e secret. to deliũ county records to clarke of y^e County Court":⁷—

"The County Court of Suffolke, for reasons best knoune to themselves, saw good to improove Mr Free Grace Bendall as clarke of the sajd Court, in stead of Mr Rawson, ordering the sajd Mr Rawson to deliuer unto him all those things w^{ch} did concerne him in that place. The Court being informed that there are yet still in his hands seuerall reccords that concerne the county, it is ordered, that the sajd Mr Rawson deliuer the same to the clarke of the County Court."

He was one of the founders of the Third or Old South Church in Boston, and his name appears in the list of—

¹ Mass. Col. Records, I. 227, 250; II. 22, 66, 96, 146, 186, 238, 265; III. 1, 10, 62, 105, 121, 147.

² *Ibid.*, III. 28, 147.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 182; IV. (Pt 1) 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III., IV., and V.

⁵ Johnson's Wonder Working Providence, p. 109.

⁶ Mass. Col. Records, III. 257; IV. (Pt. 1) 68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV. (Part 2) 464.

"The Brethren which came off frō y^e First Church in Boston NE & laid y^e Foundation of y^e 3^d Church ptly on May 12, 1669, partly on May 16, 1669." ¹

While a Deputy from Newbury he had engaged in the manufacture of gunpowder, and he received a grant of five hundred acres of land from the General Court, June 6, 1639,² "so as hee go on wth the business of powder, if the salt peter come." But the undertaking was not successful.³

In September, 1651,⁴ he was chosen steward or agent for receiving the goods sent by the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New England.

October 15, 1679, the General Court granted him the sum of fifty pounds in answer to the following petition :⁵ —

To the Honno^{ble} Symon Bradstreet Esq^r Gou^r Tho. Danforth Esq^r Dep^t Gou^r wth the Honno^{ble} Assistants & Deputjes Assembled in Gennerall Court.

The humble Remonstrance, Declaration & peticon of Edward Rawson, Secre^t.

Humbly Sheweth y^t since may 1650 God hath enabled him to vndergoe & in some weake measure to serve God & his people in this Colony, & though the Sallery to his place was but low & meane at the first, not aboue forty pounds p^a Ann yet such was the sence of Authority as for the Augmentation ordered y^t all the lawes of publick Concern^{mt} should be transcribed to y^e seūrall Towne each session & be allowed twelve pence the first & 8^d p^a page afterw^{es} out of y^e Tresury wch oft Came to twenty pounds seldom lesse then 15^{li} p^a Ann. had y^e publick Notarys place & Record^r for y^e County of Suffolk, & also Agent for the Colonjes wch yeilded him a 60^{li} p^a Ann. wch made him thō his family was large to Rest sattisfied & to keepe a clarke at his oune charge for y^e 1st 5 yeares when It pleased God to take to himself the Honord Good m^r Nowell who held y^e Clarkship to the County Court of Suffolke till y^e time when that place was also Conferd on him wh^{ch} he kept till the yeare sixtje & then the Court was pleased to expresse their sence of his labors & Augmented his Annuall sallery to 60^{li} p^a Ann besides allowing him his bill for public writings out of Court wch Came to 8^{li} 10^{li} 12 : & 16^{li} p^a Ann as in all the Tresurers Accounts may be

¹ Historical Catalogue of the Old South Church, Boston. Boston, 1883, p. 5.

² Mass. Col. Records, I. 263.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 261, 270, 283; III. 142; 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XIV. 248, 249.

⁴ Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. Plymouth Colony Records, IX. 195, 198, 205, 206.

⁵ Mass. Archives, XLVIII. 155; Mass. Col. Records, V. 252.

seene found & Allowed him by y^e Court all wch very hardly brought the yeare about, hauing not lesse then ten in his family. but in the vnhappy yeare 1669 It pleased the then magis^{ts} of y^e County of Suffolk to dischargd him of the Clarkship place to y^t County as also of y^e Recorders place at wch time I may speake it truly I had not 5^s in hand to help myself but God was pleased to order it y^t being so enforet, sold a Considerable tract of my land wth my house & somewhiles after y^e Rest y^t yealded me an 1800^{li}: knowing the Ill Resentment I had from some in place was Content to spend vpon my oune Estate my Sallery of 60^{li} p Anm nothing neere Answering my families necessary [ex]pence. So that in a 5 yeares I was sensible of my great losse & wound hoping for a time of Releife but God saw it Good to let loose the Cruel natives vpon vs & such were y^e Complaints of all the burden night & day for the two first yeares of y^e warr 75, 76: and mostly also in 77 & 7[8] that I was forced to forbear & goe on & vnder that vexatious time spending 100^{li} p Anm still out of my oune purse & Estate besides my Sallery of 60^{li} p Anm for my necessary expenc of my family in y^e yeares 75: 76 from 6 in y^e morning to 9 often 10 & eleven at night foret to write out 20 Reames of paper wch I bought signing night & day all warrants to all Tounes officers of foot & horse posts Comissary Chirurgeons Comissions for all sorts of Major Capt. Lefts & Sarjants abroad not lesse then sixe or 8 thousand & signing all debenters for all souldiers wayting on y^e Counsell diē p diē the law Allow^s eūy clarke 6^{li} for y^e least Copie Some letters Comissions Instructions &c very large I haue also pd for writting out seūll writtings to send wth our Agents &c to a good value not less then 15^{li} besides pajd out of my salery about 20^{li} for my diet; haue had but 8^{li} Allowed me for those two yeares: haue had a 16^{li} cutt of from me for y^e yeare 74 Given in to y^e late honord Tresur^r Russell for publick writings for y^t yeare & for this last two yeares nothing allowed me were it not but y^t I so sorely feele y^e pinch of spending my oune Estate for so many yeares & vndergoing such hard labor for these 4 last yeares that haue brought me more then vpon my knees & Infirmitjes of Age Increasing on me that I Judge should be too much wanting to my poore family; if I did not spread my Case before this Court hoping for some Considerable releife (many hundreds expended and for many hundreds should be loath to vndergoe y^e like Leaue my Complaints & Condition wth yo^r honors to make such reparation as in yo^r wisdome y^w shall Judge necessary in mony & lands to make it vp: shall be at rest hauing not many dayes to liue:

Leaue myself wth God & yo^rselues & am

Yo^r Anntient Servant,

EDW RAWSON.

Judge Sewall in his Diary, under date of Monday, April 20, 1685, thus describes the Proclamation of James the Second as King of England :¹—

“The King is Proclaimed: 8 Companies, the Troop, and several Gentlemen on horseback assisting; three Volleys and then Canon fired.”

The Colony Records state that the Governor and Council ordered His Majesty to be proclaimed with all due solemnity in the High Street in Boston,²—

“w^{ch} was donn on 20th of Aprill last, the hono^rble Goũno^r, Dep^t Goũno^r, & Assistants, on horsback, wth thousands of people, a troope of horse, eight foote companys, drums beating, trumpets sounding, his maj^{ty} was proclaymed by Edward Rawson, secre^t, on horsback, & Jn^o Greene, marshall gene^{ll}, taking it from him, to the great joy & loud acclamations of the people, and a seuenty peec of ordinanc next after the volleys of horse & foote . . . God saue the King &c.”

But this joy was not of long duration. On the arrival of Randolph in the “Rose” frigate, May 15, 1686, bearing the King’s Commission for Joseph Dudley as President of New England until a Governor in Chief should be appointed by the King, the General Court decided upon an answer, drawn up and signed by Rawson. This is said to have been probably his last official act.

After the establishment of the provisional government, at a meeting of the Council, December 8, 1686,³ a Committee was appointed:—

“to receive & sort and form the Records of the Country (now in the hands of M^r Edward Rawson, late Sec^{ry}) . . . and remove them in the posture they are now in, into the Library Chamber and that there go forth a strict Warrant to M^r Rawson to deliver them accordingly.”

At a meeting of the Council Feb. 4, 1686–7,⁴ it was ordered:—

“That the s^d Com^{tee} do forthwith enter upon the effectual execution thereof bringing them to y^e Office provided for them & Mr Rawson late Sec^{ry} to be assisting in sorting & disposing them accordingly.”

¹ Sewall’s Diary, I. 70.

² Mass. Col. Records, V. 474.

³ Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, CXXVI. 225.

At a meeting of the Council, March 6, 1687,¹ it was ordered that the Records of the late Massachusetts Colony

“be forthwith taken into y^e Custody & Charge of y^e Sec^y [Edward Randolph] & Kept with y^e other Records of this Dominion in the Sec^y's office where all persons may haue recourse to them as occasion & that y^e Key heitherto Kept by M^r Rawson of y^e place where y^e s^d Records are, be forthwith deliuered to y^e sd Sec^y.”

The following petition to Sir Edmund Andros² is of interest:—

“To his Excellency S^r Edmund Andros Kn^t Captⁿ Geⁿerall & Gou^rno^r-in-Chiefe of New England in America

The humble motion by way of Peti^con of Edward Rawson. Sheweth, —

That your Peti^coner for aboue thirty sixe yeares past hath Constantly Serued his Maj^{ties} late Gou^rnment in the office of Secretary & keeper of bookes & Records of the Generall Court of his Maj^{ties} late Colony of the Massachusets wherein, besides the requisite diligence & faithfullnes he in the discharge of that trust, as euery day required, He exercised himselfe & Employed & payd others, by way of assistances, in methodizing the proceedings for posterity, as he hoped the papers, bookes & Records in his Custody, by giving out transcripts & Coppies thereof, as there should be occasion might haue recompensed his sajd voluntary & free pajnes and Costs therein: by affording him a Competent maintenance in his now decljning yeares (being very neere 73) which was his great encouragement for to spend his dayes so to publicke advantage, now redounding to his Maj^{ties} seruice. But that benefit & hope being by your Excellency's & Councill's order cutt off: by diuoluing vpon M^r Edward Randolph (his Maj^{ties} principall Secretary) the sajd trust & papers to the encreasing of his profit & Incomes, (the Justice whereof your Petitione^r doeth not repine at)

And forasmuch as besides the arrears due to your Petitione^r for his care & Custody thereof, to the tyme of his discharge, at the penurious rate of his forme^r yearly allowance is not only withheld, but vnless by you^r Excellency's Goodnes (otherwise prouided for) his hopes of Subsistance for the future, dispaired, to his great discouragement, and of all othe^rs who shall haue the like trust in his Maj^{ties} service, so to discharge themselues as you^r Petitioner hath done;—And yo^r Excellency hauing beene greatly pleased, not only to require his service & Assistance in the late Custody & Reemethodizing of the sajd books, Records & papers for future vse, & deliuering them ouer to M^r Ran-

¹ Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 238.

² *Ibid.* CXXVIII. 73.

dolph, But also to give yo^r petiticoner you^r Gracious promise of Considering for the same, required his proposal for his Sattesfaction,

Your Peti^r therefore hopes & humbly prayes you^r Excellency by the advice & Consent of his Maj^{ties} Councill, will please to order a sattisfaction to be made vnto him not only for y^e last yeares wherein he hath actually served his Maj^{ty} as aforesajd according to his former sallery of sixty pounds p^a Añum, but also some future yearly annuity, or pension out of his Maj^{ties} renew heere for his sustenance, such as yo^r Excellency shall Judge suitable to the quality of the trust he hath so discharged, & for & during his naturall life

And he shall euer pray &c”

By his wife Rachel, who pre-deceased him, he had children, among whom were the Rev. Edward Rawson (Harv. Coll. 1653) and the Rev. Grindall Rawson (Harv. Coll. 1678).

He died intestate August 27, 1693, and administration on his estate was granted, January 4, 1693-4, to his son William Rawson, of Dorchester, yeoman.

Cotton Mather, in his “Johannes in Eremo” published in 1695, relating the refusal of the Rev. John Wilson to have his portrait painted, says:—

“But from the like *Humility* it was, That a Good kinsman,¹ of his, who deserves to Live in the same *Story*, as he now Lives in the same *Heaven* with him, namely Mr. *Edward Rawson*, the Honoured Secretary of the *Massachuset-Colony*, could not by all his Intreaties perswade him, to let his *Picture* be drawn. . . . And when that Gentleman introduced the Limner, with all things ready, Vehemently importuning him to gratify so far the Desires of his Friends, as to sit awhile, for the taking of his *Effigies*, no Importunity could ever obtain it from him.”²

But Rawson himself did not decline to sit to the “limner,” and his portrait inscribed “Natis [*sic*] 15th April 1615 — Ætatis suae 55, 1670,” is in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. This and a portrait of his daughter, Rebecca Rawson, with the Rawson family Bible, were presented to the Society May 7, 1884, by Reuben Rawson Dodge,³ a descendant of the Secretary.

¹ Edward Rawson was a nephew of the Rev. John Wilson. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XXXI. 324.

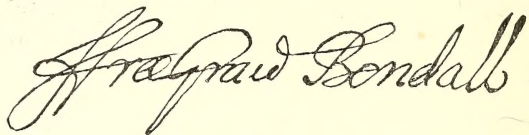
² Johannes in Eremo, p. 41.

³ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XXXIX. 52-61, 85.

FREEGRACE BENDALL.

1670-1672, 1673-1676.

Freegrace Bendall, the son of Edward Bendall, a prominent merchant of Boston, was born in Boston 30 7^{mo} 1636. His brothers and sister bore the names of Reform, Hopefor, Moremercy, Ephraim, and Restore.



He took the oath of freeman, May 24, 1667,¹ and was chosen constable at a town meeting held March 15, 1668-9.²

He joined the Artillery Company in 1667; was clerk of the Company from 1669-1672 inclusive, and ensign in 1676.³

He was appointed Clerk of the County Court for the County of Suffolk, and the County Records were ordered to be delivered to him, October 12, 1670.⁴

At a "County Court held at Boston y^e 14th 4^{mo} 1672,"

"Vpon the humble Peticō of free Grace Bendall the Court was pleased to condescend to his going this Voyage to Madera & accept of m^r. Isaac Addingtō to offitiate in his place till his Return of which all persons concerned may take notice."⁵

At a "County Court held at Boston July 29, 1673,"

"The Court Orders & appoints that free Grace Bendall bee henceforth Recorder of this County of Suffolke,"⁶

and that Isaac Addington be the Clerk of the County Court.

The Rev. John Eliot, in the Records of the First Church of Roxbury,⁷ makes this entry of the death of Bendall:—

¹ Mass. Archives, CVI. 489.

² Boston Town Records, II. 42.

³ Roberts' History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, I. 209, 212, 214, 217, 220, 240.

⁴ Monday, June 5 [1676]. Mr. Hutchison chosen Capt., Mr. Turin, Lieut., Mr. Bental, Ensign of the Artillery." (Sewall's Diary, I. 13.)

⁵ Mass. Col. Records, IV. (part 2) 464.

⁶ Records of the Suffolk County Court, October 31, 1671-April, 1680, p. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁸ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XXXIII. 298; Report of Boston Record Commissioners, VI. 193.

"month 4^t day 6. [1676] a sudden gust toward night, w^{ch} overset a boat coming frō Noddls Iland, w^r were drowned m^r Bendal. & his wife, & a quaker maide, and a young man a factor."

Judge Sewall¹ thus describes his death:—

"Tuesd. 6, [June 6, 1676] late in the Afternoon, a violent wind, and thunder shower arose. Mr. Bendal, Mrs. Bendal, Mr. James Edmunds, and a Quaker female were drowned; their Boat (in which coming from Nodde's Iland) being overset, and sinking by reason of ballast. Mr. Charles Lidget hardly escaped by the help of an oar.

"Wednesday, June 7., 5 Afternoon Mr. Bendal, Mrs, carried one after another, and laid by one another in the same grave. Eight young children."

Administration on his estate which was appraised at £531: 7: 9 was granted, June 8, 1676, to Mr. John Scarlett, Mr. William Taylor, and Captain Elisha Hutchinson. One of his daughters, Mariana, became the wife of Dr. Daniel Allin (Harv. Coll. 1675), who was appointed one of the Clerks for Suffolk, June 2, 1686. Administration de bonis non on the estate of her father "Freegrace Bendall merchant deceased" was granted to her March 19, 1700-1.

JOHN DAVENPORT.

1676.

John Davenport, son of the Rev. John Davenport, vicar of St. Stephen's in Coleman Street, London, who with Governor Eaton arrived in Boston June 26, 1637, and the next year settled New Haven, Connecticut, was born in England or perhaps Holland.



He did not come with his father to Boston, in 1637, but was brought in 1639, to New Haven in "y^e first ship that ever cast anchor in this place."²

He took the oath of fidelity 7: 2^{mo} 1657.³

¹ Sewall's Diary, I. 13.

² Letter of the Rev. John Davenport to Lady Mary Vere dated "Quinnepiack" [New Haven] 28th 7^{mo} 1639, N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, IX. 149, 150; Davenport Genealogy, 1876, p. 184.

³ New Haven Col. Records, I. 140.

The Rev. John Davenport, the father, removed to Boston and was installed Pastor of the First Church in Boston. John Davenport, the son, also came with him to Boston. John Hull, in his Diary,¹ thus notes their arrival:—

“2d, 3 d. [1668] At three or four in the afternoon, came Mr. John Davinport to town, with his wife, son, and son’s family, and was met by many of the town. A great shower of extraordinary drops of rain fell as they entered the town; but Mr. Davinport and his wife were sheltered in a coach of Mr. Searl’s who went to meet them.”

The father and son both took the oath of freeman May 19, 1669.²

After the death of his father, he addressed the following petition³ to the General Court:—

“To the Hon^{ble} Govern^r, Deput: Govern^r, Assistants, wth the Hon^d Deputies in Gen^l Court assembled the 1st of June 1671.

The humble Petition of John Davenporte
Humbly sheweth —

That whereas your Petioners Reverend Father, in the very Infancy of this Govern^t, was one of the Adventerors in promoving this Plantation, and not a little Instrumentall (wth Others) in the charge of obteyning his Ma^{ties} Royall Charters the foundation thereof, and (as himselfe often affirmed) put into the co^mon stock at least fiftie pounds, for w^{ch} (as yet) he never had any Compensation your Petitioner (the onely son of his deceased Father) humbly desires the wonted fav^r of the Hon^{ble} Court, in a meet consideration of y^e premises by bestowing a portion of Land as in your wisdome you shall thinck fit, and your Petitioner shall pray &c.”

The Committee to which this petition was referred reported in favor of a grant of five hundred acres of land to the petitioner.

After the death of Recorder Bendall, the County Court held at Boston, July 25, 1676, made the following order:

“m^r John Davenport is authorized & impoured to bee Record^r for the County of Suffolke; and the Records are to bee delivered up unto him.”⁴

¹ Archæologia Americana, III. 226.

² Mass. Col. Records, IV. (part 2) 583.

³ Mass. Archives, XLV. 163, 164.

⁴ Records of the Suffolk County Court, October 31, 1671–April, 1680, p. 394.

He entered and recorded in Lib. IX. of Suffolk Deeds the deeds left for record from August 8 until August 22, 1676, attesting the record as "John Davenport Recorder." But Isaac Addington then got possession of the book. Davenport then turned to Lib. IV. and on one of its fly leaves made this entry,—

"The proper Booke of Deeds in which the following Instruments should haue been Recorded being taken and withheld from me; 22 day of August. I am faine to enter them in this Booke."

He continued to enter deeds on the fly leaves of Lib. IV. as late at least as October 11, 1676, when he gave up the contest. He died shortly after. His will, dated October 31, 1676, was filed in the Probate Office, November 13, 1676, and administration on his estate which was appraised at £836 : 12 : 6 was granted to his widow, Abigail Davenport.

In his will he expressed a wish

"y^t my Sonn John¹ may bee a Schollar if the Estate will beare it. . . . And what Silver plate there is in y^e howse, I leaue my wife two thirds of it for her onely proper vse, & as for my bookes in my Study I give vnto my Son Latine Greek & Hebrew & y^e manuscript w^{ch} was his Grandfathers & Some English bookes w^{ch} is necessary, & y^e remainder of the bookes I give vnto my wife & Children."

His inventory contains among other items the following:—

"The Negro Woman	£18 : 00 : 00."
"The bookes Vallewed by m ^r Ja: Allen, & m ^r Sam ^l Willard Vnder there hands	£90 : 00 : 00."
"The house & Ground	£400 : 00 : 00."

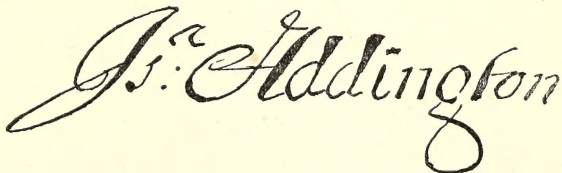
ISAAC ADDINGTON.

1672, 1673, 1676–1686, 1689, 1690.

Isaac Addington, son of Isaac Addington, was born in Boston, January 22, 1644–5.

His name appears in the Steward's Book of Harvard Col-

lege² in 1658 and 1659, but he did not graduate. He was



¹ John Davenport, the son of the testator, was graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1687. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, III. 369.

² Sibley's Harvard Graduates, I. 581.

bred for a surgeon,¹ and as late as 1687 he still styled himself "chirurgeon" in deeds and other legal instruments.²

He took the oath of freeman, May 7, 1673.³

The "County Court held at Boston y^e 14th 4^{mo} 1672," granted the petition of Freegrace Bendall, the Recorder, to go on a voyage to Madeira "& accept of Mr Isaac Addington to offitiate in his place till his Return."⁴

At a "County Court held at Boston July 29, 1673,"

"The Court Orders & appoints Isaac Addington to bee henceforth Clarke of the County Court of Suffolke."⁵

In the contest which followed the death of Recorder Bendall, Addington finally prevailed and, being left in full possession of the Records, continued to attest the records in the Registry of Deeds until 1686, when the provisional government was established. He also attested certain of the records in 1689 and 1690 after the overthrow of Andros.

At a town meeting held in Boston, March 10, 1684-5, he was chosen one of the Deputies to the General Court.⁶ He was also chosen Deputy, March 9, 1685-6, and, May 12, 1686, one of the Assistants.⁷ At a town meeting, May 14, 1686, Captain Penn Townsend was chosen Deputy "in y^e place of Mr Isack Addington beinge chosen a Magestrate."⁸ In 1688 he was one of the Selectmen.⁹

He was one of the Committee appointed at a meeting of the Council, December 8, 1686,¹⁰ to receive from Edward Rawson, the late Secretary, the Records of the Massachusetts Colony.

¹ Among the "bills of charges to chirurgions, docto^{rs} & diet" mentioned in the petition of Ruth Upham, widow of Lieutenant Phineas Upham who was mortally wounded in King Philip's war and who died in Boston, October, 1676, and which the General Court ordered the Treasurer of the Colony to pay, was one of £1 3s. 5d. to "Mr Addington." Mass. Col. Rec., V. 122; Bodge's Soldiers in King Philip's War; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XLIII. 352.

² Suffolk Deeds, VI. 122; VII. 37; XII. 159; XIII. 152; LIX. 175.

³ Mass. Col. Records, IV. (Part 2) 586.

⁴ Records of the Suffolk County Court, October 31, 1671-April, 1680, p. 55.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶ Boston Town Records, II. 164, 174.

⁷ Mass. Col. Records, V. 513. He was chosen, May 27, 1685, Speaker of the House of Deputies. (*Ibid.*, p. 476.)

⁸ Boston Town Records, II. 175.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 185.

¹⁰ Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 157.

On the overthrow of the government of Sir Edmund Andros he was chosen, April 20, 1689,¹ Clerk of the "Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace," and under the new charter took the oath of office, May 16, 1692,² as Secretary of the Province, an office which he held until his death.

He was appointed, June 18, 1692,³ Register of Probate for Suffolk County; April 12, 1693,⁴ Register of the High Court of Chancery of the Province; November 19, 1702,⁵ Judge of the Suffolk Probate Court, and in 1692, 1696, 1697, 1698, and 1699 he was one of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas.⁶ He was a Justice of the Peace, was one of the Commissioners for the trial of Pirates,⁷ and, June 30, 1702, was appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature.⁸

His Excellency the Governor acquainted the Council,⁹ June 5, 1703, —

"that Isaac Addington Esq^r Chief Justice of the Superiour Court, had addressed him several times, with great earnestness to be dismist from that Office, being much impaired in health; and having lost his Assistant in his Office of Secretary, the buisness wherof was pressing upon him."

He tendered his resignation at a Council Meeting held on the 15th¹⁰ of the following month, and on the 23rd¹¹ the Governor declared that no further service was expected from him as Chief Justice.

At a town meeting held December 27, 1708, it was voted that —

"a Committee be chosen to draw up a Scheme or draught of a Charter of Incorporation (or any other projection) for the Incourragement and better Governm^t of this Town,"¹²

and Addington was the third in the list of thirty-one freeholders and inhabitants who constituted that Committee.

¹ Mass. Col. Records, VI. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 206, 422, 477, 577; III. 42.

² Council Records, II. 168.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 257.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 180.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III. 341.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 235.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 448.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 388.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 454.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III. 457; Sewall's Diary, II. 82, 83. No successor, however, was appointed until February 20, 1707-8, when Wait Winthrop was made Chief Justice. (Council Records, IV. 546, 553.)

¹² Boston Town Records, II. 299.

He was one of the seven chosen at a town meeting held December 19, 1709,

“to consider of the affaires relateing to the Grañer Free School of this Town.”¹

This Committee reported at a town meeting held March 13, 1709–10, certain recommendations:—

“We further propose and recommend, as of Great Service and Advantage for the promoting of Diligence and good Literature, That the Town Agreeably to the Usage in England, and (as we understand) in Some time past practiced here, Do Nominate and Appoint a Certain Number of Gentlemen, of Liberal Education, Together with Some of y^e Rev^d Ministers of the Town, to be Inspectors of the S^d Schoole under That name Title, or denomination, To Visit y^e School from time to time, when and as Oft as they shall thinck fit, to Enform themselves of the methodes used in Teaching of y^e Schollars and to Inquire of their Proficiency, and be present at the performance of Some of their Exercises, the Master being before Notified of their Comeing, And with him to Consult and Advise of further Methods for y^e Advancement of Learning and the good Government of the Schoole.”²

This report was accepted, and Addington was one of the five inspectors chosen. He was again chosen in 1711 and 1713.³

Judge Sewall gives us the following particulars of his last days:⁴—

“Midweek, March 2 [1714–5] Mr. Secretary offers a Draught for a Fast. The President persuaded him to strike out words about *Establishment of the Government*. Mr. Tailer procured to have the *Prince* particularly mention’d. I prevail’d to have *Rain* Specially inserted, and gave the Words, which I prepar’d at Noon: carried it to the Press.”

“Midweek, March, 9. Mr. Secretary is in Council; Forenoon and Afternoon. I remember, I ask’d leave of him to go to the Barbers, assuring him I would return presently.”

“Fifth-day, March, 10th Mr. Secretary is taken with fainting as he rose out of his Bed in the Morning: sunk down. Taken agen at Noon.

¹ Boston Town Records, II. 305.

² *Ibid.*, II. 308.

This was the origin of the Boston School Committee. The Free School or Free Grammar School here means the Boston Latin School. “Grammar School” in our early records is used, as in England, to denote a school where Latin and Greek are taught, and not in the sense in which it has been employed in later times in America.

³ Boston Town Records, II. 318, 342.

⁴ Sewall’s Diary, III. 41.

As went out of the Council in the Morning, Mr Davenport desired me to acquaint Mr. Sewall who preach'd; but he was got into pulpit before I reach'd the Meetinghouse, so no publick Prayers."

"March, 13. Mr. Secretary Pray'd for publickly."

"Satterday, March, 19. Mr. Secretary Addington dyes between 11. and 12. before Noon. Gov^r Dudley came to visit him; but he was dead $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour before."

The Rev. William Cooper says:¹—

"Mar 19 [1714-15] Dyed y^e truly Hon^{ble} Isaac Addington, Esq.
Aetat. suae 71.

"Mar 23 I attended M^r Addingtons funerall."

Judge Sewall² gives this account of the funeral:—

"Midweek, March, 23. Mr. Addington buried from the Council-Chamber; twas a sad Spectacle; Bearers, Lt Gov^r, Mr. Winthrop; Elisha Hutchinson, Sewall; Eliakim Hutchinson, Belchar. 20 of the Council were assisting, it being the day for appointing Officers. All had Scarvs. Bearers Scarvs, Rings, Escutcheons. Was laid in Gov^r Leverett's Tomb."

¹ Memoranda from the Rev. William Cooper's Interleaved Almanac; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XXX 435.

² Sewall's Diary, III. 43. Samuel Sewall, Jr., makes the following entry in Sewall's Letter Book (II. 299): "March 19th, 1714-15. Dyed The Worthy Secretary Isaac Addington Esq^r, about Noon. Having Several fainting Fitts. Buried in Gov^r. Leveretts Tomb, the 27th Instant, there being a considerable attendance. 20 Counsellors. Being much Lamented."

The Boston News-Letter for March 21, 1714-15, contains the following obituary notice:—

"On Saturday last the 19th Currant, Died here about Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon, the truly Honourable and very Worthy *Isaac Addington* Esq; Secretary for His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, who had with great Wisdom, Honqur and Faithfulness served his Generation by the Will of God, in that Office for above Twenty years, being appointed thereto by the Late King William and Queen Mary of Glorious Memory, in their Royal Charter. He was born in New England, and a great Honour to his Country; he Dyed in the Seventy-first Year of his Age."

Judge Sewall in his Diary (III. 67), in making note of a visit made by him November 21, 1715, to Governor Saltonstall, says: "He was not at home; I left for him Comemorations, with Sermons on Mr. Addington, and Mr. Earl bound up together."

The Funeral Sermon on the "Death of the Honourable and truly Vertuous Isaac Addington Esq^r," referred to by Judge Sewall, was preached by the Rev. Benjamin Colman and was published in Boston, 1715.

At a meeting of the Selectmen May 16, 1715 (Selectmen's Rec., II. 175), "Liberty is granted to Major Thomas Fitch to make a Toomb for his family, in the Old burying place on y^e Easterly Side Next to Doct^r Cooks Land, & next adjoyn- ing to y^e Toomb of Isaack Addington Esq^r. Deceased."

Isaac Addington was twice married. His only child, a daughter by his first wife, probably died young. His second wife survived him.

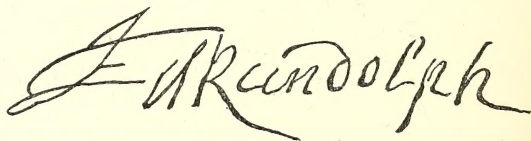
His will, dated January 1, 1713-14, was probated May 13, 1715. He made his nephew Addington Davenport his residuary legatee and devisee, and constituted him the sole executor.

A portrait of Secretary Addington is in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. It is thought to be one of the two portraits mentioned in the will of Elizabeth Davenport, widow of the Honorable Addington Davenport, which was dated September 18, 1756, and probated October 29, 1756. It was formerly in the possession of the late Richards Child, of Boston, and was given to the Society January 7, 1880,¹ by the late Dudley Richards Child.

EDWARD RANDOLPH.

1686.

Edward Randolph, who has been called "the evil genius of New England," but whose courage, zeal, and ability have at last received tardy recognition at the hands of later New England historical writers, played so important a part in our colonial history that only a brief summary of his life need be attempted here.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "E. Randolph". The script is cursive and elegant, with a large, flowing initial "E" and a long, sweeping underline.

He was the fourth son of Edmund Randolph, M.D., of Canterbury, England, of Oxford and Padua (Italy), and was baptized at St. Margaret's, Canterbury, July 9, 1632.²

He arrived in Boston with the King's letter June 10, 1676, and sailed from Boston July 30, 1676, for England. He was appointed Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher for all the Colonies of New England, and again appeared in Boston, January

¹ Proceedings N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc., 1880, p. 39.

² N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XXXVII. 155; 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XIII. 240-242; Historical Papers by Charles Wesley Tuttle, edited by Col. Albert H. Hoyt, 1889, pp. 277-326.

28, 1679-80.¹ The opposition with which he was met and his personal grievances stimulated him to address a memorial to the King, urging proceedings against the Charter by a writ of *quo warranto*. He sailed again from Boston, March 15, 1681. In his ceaseless activity against the Colony he made eight voyages to New England in nine years, "always returning home with fresh complaints, thereby arming himself with new orders and powers."

He arrived again in Boston December 17, 1681, with a commission as Deputy Collector for all the Colonies of New England except New Hampshire, bringing at the same time a letter from the King. In compliance with orders received from England to return and prosecute a *quo warranto*, he sailed again for England, arriving May 28, 1683. He arrived again in Boston on the 26th of October of that year with the *quo warranto* against the Charter and Government of Massachusetts, and, December 14th following, again embarked for England, presenting to the Privy Council his "Narrative of the Delivery of his Majesty's Writ of *quo warranto*." On the 23d of October, 1684, the Court of Chancery made a final decree vacating the Charter, and the ancient government of the Colony came to an end.

Randolph arrived again in Boston in the "Rose" frigate, May 14, 1686, with commissions for the officers of a new government. The General Court, which was then in session, was adjourned to the second Wednesday in October, 1686; but it never met.

The provisional government thus established over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the King's Province under the presidency of Joseph Dudley lasted from May 25 to December 20, 1686, when Sir Edmund Andros superseded Dudley, and became the first Royal Governor of the Province.

Randolph had brought with him a Commission from King James the Second "Given at our Court att Windsor y^e 21 day of September 1685 in the first year of our Reigne,"² reciting that —

"Whereas we have thought fitt to appoint a President & Councill Vntill we Shall send over A Governor in Chiefe to take Care of all our

¹ Memorial History of Boston, I. 364-382; 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XVIII. 258, 259.

² Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 95.

Territory & Dominion in New England . . . reposing Especiall trust & Confidence in the Loyalty & Abilities of our trusty & well beloved Edward Randolph Esq^r have given & Granted and by these presents do give and grant onto him the Said Edward Randolph the Severall and respective places & offices of Secretary and Sole Register of our Gouvernor & Councill and of our Government there for the time being and in our Territoryes and Dominion aforesaid . . . together with all fees Rights Privildiges Proffitts, Perquisites and advantages to the said Places & Offices or either of them belonging or in any wise appertaining or which shall belong or in any wise appertaine in as full and ample manner to all Intents and Purposes as the Secretary and Register of our Island of Jamaica or of any other our Plantations in America have had or do now receive and Enjoy."

At a meeting of the Council March 6, 1687,¹ the Records of the late Massachusetts Colony were ordered to be taken into his custody and charge, and kept with the other Records of the Dominion in the Secretary's office.

In a letter² to the Lord Treasurer, dated August 23, 1686, shortly before the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, he says that he has —

"brought this people to a neerer dependance upon y^e Crown . . . But unless his Maj^{tie} please in a very short time to send us over a Gener^l Gover^r from Engl^d all y^t is already done will be of little advantage to his Maj^{ties} Interest: . . . His Majestie hath been graciously pleased to make me Secretary of his Councill here but y^e accounts of y^e late Treasurers & w^{tever} else relates to y^e discovery of his Maj^{ties} Revennue is Kept from my Knowledge: The publick Records & all y^e Grants & Settlement of Lands in this Country ought to be lodged in my office are otherwise disposed of, not being willing to entrust them with me, who have been & (as they say) am still y^e Grand enemy of their Countrey. . . . It was by your Lordships favour y^t his Maj^{tie} in consideration of my past services was pleased to grant me y^e office of Register & Secretary of this Gover^{nt}, a place in his Majesties other plantations of considerable advantage but they have taken so g^{rt} a prejudice against me; y^t they have disposed of y^e pquisites of y^t office to psons of y^r own stamp so y^t for all my trouble & attending y^e Councill here, I am not like to make 20th a year. My earnest expectation of a Gen^l Gov^r supports me under all these difficulties & disappointm^{ts} and tho' they treat me so rudely, yet I shall continue to assert his Majesties interest in y^e station I am fixed in."

¹ Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 238.

² *Ibid.*, CXXVI. 66.

After the establishment of the new government he addressed a protest or petition¹ "To His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros, K^{nt}. Cap^t. Generall and Govern^r-in-Chiefe of this his Maj^{ty}s Territory and Dominion of New England," reciting his Commission from the King and adding —

"And whereas by an Act made in the Island of Jamaica it is ordained by the Governor Councill & Assembly that the Secretaries Fees of that Island should be:—

(1th) For a Permit for every Vessell that departs that Island one shilling.

(2) For every bond entred into by an English man not to carry anyone of that Island Without the Governors Ticket five shillings.

(3) For every Bond as above said for an Alien's ship ten shillings.

(4) For entring a Caveat setting up a name Vnderwrighting any person in the office six Pence:

(5) For a Ticket to depart that Island two shillings and sixe pence.

(6) For Taking a bond obligatory one shilling and thre pence.

(7) For A Lisense ffor Marridge sixteen shillings & six pence

8 For Letters of Administration, Warrant of Appraisement Bond and filing the Inventory fourteen shillings.

9 For Recording a will of one sheet two shillings and sixe pence.

10 For Every sheet moore then one Eight pence.

(11) For Every order of the Governour & Councill or Copie thereof one shilling and thre pence.

(12) For a Lisense to draw drinke sixteen shift & sixepence

(13) For a Lett pas for a ship to depart five shillings.

(14) For Every Protest onder hand and seale sixe shillings.

(15) For a Citation two shillings and sixe pence.

(16) ffor A Dedimus ten shillings:

As in and by the said Act it may and doth moore fully Appear and whereas there is one other Act made by the Governor Councill and Assembly in the Island of Jamaica aforesaid for Registring of deeds and Pattents it is Enacted that the Clark of the enrollment shall and may take and receive for Enrolling and Coppying an ordinary Deed, Grant or Pattent for one or moore parsell of Land or any Deed or Conveyance not Exceeding the lenght of Such Pattent five Shillings. For Every Deed exceeding the lenght Aforesaid Eight pence pr sheet accounting twenty leaves to a shiet & eight words to a line.

For every short wrighting not exceeding the lenth aforesaid twelve-pence

For Recording every Plott one shilling and thre pence.

For Searching the Reccord twelve pence and For acknowledging Sat-

¹ Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 178.

isfaction in the margine of A morgage Reccorded one shilling and thre pence — as in and by the said last recited Act it may and doth moore fully Appeare

Now may it please your Excellency, Joseph Dudley Esq^r not being Ignorant of that his Maj^{tye} had Granted onto your Orator The above said Offices or Places, Your Orator having Produced and showed onto him his Warrant for the said Places or offices Contriving and designing to call into question his Maj^{tyes} Grant to your Orator and to Frustrate his Maj^{tyes} Gratiuous Intentions of favor to him did Refuse, obstruct and denie to permit and Suffer your Oritor to Exercise and Enjoye his Said Places or Offices of Secretary & Register and to receive perceive and Enjoye all and Singuler the Respective Fees, Perquisits Rights and Profits which did Justly belong and were due onto your Orator according as Secretary and Register of his Maj^{ties} Island of Jamaica have had or then did receave and Enjoye and mooreover the Said Joseph Dudley did Introduce, nominate make and ordaine Doct^r Daniell Allen, Thomas Dudley and other Persons to Execute and Exercise the Parts or Part of the Offices or Places of Secretary and Register and did give onto them soe deputed by him the said Joseph Dudley power and Authority to pceive, receive and Enjoye Seaverall Fee and fees for the execution thereof whereby he the said Joseph Dudley Combining and Agreeing with the said Persons did raise and Procure onto himselfe severall great and larg some and somes of money and to the great loss and Damage of your Orator and Contrary to all Right and Equity and good Consience: may it therefore please y^r Excellency

(The Premises considered:) to Grant onto your said Orator his Majes^{ties} most Gratiuous Writt of Subpena to be directed onto the said Joseph Dudley Commanding him thereby at a Certaine day and under a Certaine paune therein to be Limited personally to be and appear in his Maj^{ties} High Court of Chancery then and there Vpon his Corporall Oath to shewe onto your Excellency by Virtue of what Power or Authority he the said Joseph Dudley did refuse and denye to permit and Suffer your Orator wholly and Intirely to Execute Exercise and Enjoye his above Granted Places and Offices of Secretary and Register and did nominate and introduce

to Execute or officiate in part or in whole the above mentioned offices and Places of Secretary and Register and because your Orator is wholly Ignorant what Some or somes of money were Justly due onto y^r Orator in Relation to his said Places and Offices from any person or Persons whose business did Justly fall Vnder the Cognizance and management of your Orator by Virtue of his said Places: — may it please your Excellency to Enjoyne the above said Joseph Dudley Vpon his Corporall Oath to shewe and declare how many Act and

Acts, thing and things were by himsele and by all and every Person or Person soe deputed or Introduced by him as above don and performed which of Right did belong and pertaine onto your orator's offices and Places of Secretary and Register as also what and how many some and somes of money were Justly due onto y^e Orator for and in Respect of his above said Offices and Places and further to stand onto and abide such order Direction and award Concerning the Premises as onto your Excellency shall seem meet and your Orator shall dayly pray for the long Continuance of y^e Excellence Prosperous Estate."

Randolph appears to have begun a new series of County Records.¹ But these records, in the troublous times that followed, seem to have been lost, and though diligent search has been made for them, they have thus far remained undiscovered.

On the 18th of April, 1689, the uprising of the people against Andros took place, and Randolph and many others of his supporters were captured and imprisoned, and the government of Andros was overthrown.

After the accession of William and Mary to the throne an order² was received, dated July 30, 1689, requiring that —

"Sir Edmund Andross, Edward Randolph and others, that have been Seized by the people of Boston, and shall be at the Receipt of

¹ By deed dated Dec. 7, 1686, Robert Sanderson, goldsmith, and Henry Alline, housewright, deacons of the First Church in Boston, "Legatarys and Administ^{rs} of the estate of Miles Redding, sometime of Boston deced," in consideration of £100, conveyed to Richard Wharton of said Boston, Esq., about half an acre of land situated on Fort Hill in said Boston, devised by said Redding to said deacons for the use of the poor of said Church. This deed was acknowledged, Dec. 9, 1686, by the grantors before Jonathan Tyng "of his Majesty's Council in his Territory of New England," livery of seizin was made on the same day, and it was "Entered in the first book of Records for the County of Suffolk, New England, and in 22d, 23d & 24th pages thereof, Edw. Randolph Registr^r."

This "first book" is not the first book of records of Suffolk Deeds known as "Suffolk Deeds Lib. I," for that ends in 1654, when Edward Rawson was Recorder, and no such deed is, of course, to be found in it. (See Query as to Missing Records published in the "Boston Evening Transcript" for Nov. 5, 1881, and reprinted in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1887, XLI. 313.)

A copy of another of these deeds, one from Benjamin Chamberlain to Thomas Collier, Jr., both of Hull, conveying land in Hull, may be found in Suffolk Court Files, XXVI. 105. It is in some portions nearly illegible, but it seems to have been recorded, Dec. 13, 1686, in the "First Book of the records of the County of Suffolk pages 29 & 30 Edward Randolph Register."

² Mass. Archives, XXXV. 83.

these Commands, Detained there, under Confinement, be sent on Board the first Ship bound to England, to answer what may be objected against them."

Lawrence Hammond in his Diary¹ says : —

"February 10 [1689-90] This day sailed from Boston bound for London, M^r. Bant & in him S^r Edm^d Andross, late Gov^r of Newengland, M^r Jos. Dudley, M^r Palmer, M^r Randolph M^r West, M^r Graham & others, who are sent home to y^e King, as by his Letter arrived here in November last.

"Likewise M^r Rich^d Martin sailed y^e same day, & in him D^r Elisha Cook D^r Thomas Oakes & M^r Ichabod Wiswall, who are sent by y^e Convention to Implead y^e afores^d Gentlemen. They Anchored at Nantasket, y^e wind coming Southerly. Mr. Martin Anchored not, but saild direct away."

"February 15 Cap^t Bant, wth S^r Edmund &c is said to Sail from Nantasket for London."

His will,² in which he styles himself "Edward Randolph, Esq^r Surveyour-Gen^l of Her Ma^{ties} Customes in all her Plantations and Colonies in America," "being about to make my seaventeenth sea voyage to America," is dated June 15, 1702, and was proved in London December 7, 1703, commission issuing to Sarah, wife of John Howard, lawfully appointed guardian of Sara Randolph, minor daughter of and executrix named in the will of Edward Randolph, lately of Acquamac in Virginia, deceased. He must have died in Virginia shortly after his arrival from England.

Cotton Mather, with inherited animosity, says : —

"Anon he Died in *Virginia*, and in such Miserable Circumstances, that (as it is said) he had only Two or Three *Negro's* to carry him unto his Grave."³

Randolph was married three times, and had several daughters, but apparently no son by either of his wives.

¹ 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., VII. 151, 152.

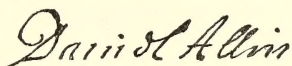
² N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XLVIII. 487 ; Tuttle's Historical Papers, p. 280.

³ Parentator. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and the Death of the Ever-Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. Boston, 1724, p. 107.

DANIEL ALLIN.

1686, 1687.

Daniel Allin, the son of the Rev. John Allin of Dedham, Massachusetts, and Catharine, his wife, was born there, 31st 5^{mo} 1656, and was there baptized 3^d 6^{mo} 1656.¹ His mother, before her marriage to the Rev. John Allin, was the widow of Governor Thomas Dudley.



February 12, 1671-2, the Corporation of Harvard College appointed Daniel Allin scholar of the house, and again, June 1, 1675, for the year ensuing, and it was ordered that he should "receeve five pounds due of y^e scholarships." He was graduated in 1675, and was chosen Library-keeper 11. 2. 1676. On taking his second degree at Commencement in 1678, he maintained the negative of the question "*An hepar sanguificet.*"²

Winthrop, in his interleaved Triennial Catalogue, says he was "Physician in Boston."³

In a mortgage⁴ of certain land in Dedham, formerly belonging to his father, dated November 29, 1677, he describes himself as of Charlestown. But he did not long remain there. In other conveyances⁵ he is said to be of Boston, and in them he is styled "Chyrurgion," "Doctor in Physick," and "Merchant."

In addition to the practice of his profession he carried on the business of a merchant, and he was engaged in the importation of goods from England up to the day of his death.

Thomas Deane, who had been a merchant in Boston but who had returned to England, in a letter⁶ to Joseph Dudley, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, dated London 4th March 1683-4, says:—

"S^r I can now say I have a freind of you instead of the late worthy Maj: Denison & which way to retaliat Ime a stranger, but by my vtmost endeauours to searue yo^r Brother Mr. Dan: Allin whose Interest

¹ Dedham Town Records, 6; Dedham Church Records, 34.

² Sibley's Harvard Graduates, II. 470.

³ 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., VIII. 46.

⁴ Suffolk Deeds, X. 224.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XII. 116; XV. 56; XXX. 168.

⁶ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, XIII. 237.

I promis you to espous as for my Brother, in order whereto I haue a promise from my Coz: Duke to increase his adventure to him & verily believe if the trade prove any thing encouraging he wilbe a great imployer of him & something considerable my Brother Browne shall doe, from one or both whome seperatly by this ship he will receiue consignmen^{ts} & the course yo^r Brother takes to aduance out of his owne estate to accomodate his principalls will be such an encouragment as filled my hands with businesse when I was at New Eng^d the like noe man euer did but Mr. Lidgit & we could not loose anything by it keeping our selfe within a very considerable bounds of security by our principalls goods & debts; I could now haue recommended him seuerall small consign^{ts} but a number of such little things I found more troublesome than profittable a few good imployers is more easy & reputable to y^e Factor."

After the establishment of the provisional government, at a meeting of the Council, June 2, 1686,¹ Daniel Allin and Thomas Dudley were appointed Clerks for Suffolk. He attested the records in the Registry of Deeds, sometimes as Recorder and sometimes as Clerk, as late at least as 1687.

At a meeting of the Council December 8, 1686,² "Wait Winthrop Esq^r Simon Lynd Esq^r. Benj^a. Bullivant, M^r Isaack Addington and M^r Daniel Allin" were appointed a Committee, with the Secretary Edward Randolph, to receive from Edward Rawson, the late Secretary, the "Records of the Country," and at a meeting held February 4, 1686-7, the Committee were ordered to "forthwith enter upon the effectual execution therof."

In his petition to Sir Edmund Andros,³ Edward Randolph complains that —

"the Said Joseph Dudley did Introduce, nominate make and ordaine Doct^r. Daniell Allen, Thomas Dudley and other Persons to Execute and Exercise the Parts or Part of the Offices or Places of Secretary and Register."

At a town meeting September 11, 1693,⁴ "Doctor Daniell Allen" was chosen one of the "Representatives for the Generall Assembly to be held on the twenty sixth of Sept. 1693."

¹ Council Records, II. 28.

² Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 157, *ante*, p. 223. See also Council Records, II. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, CXXVI. 178; *ante*, pp. 237, 238.

⁴ Boston Town Records, II. 207.

In his Diary,¹ under date of November 25, 1693, Judge Sewall records:—

“Representatives vote that none be chosen Representatives but persons resident in the Towns for which they are chosen.”

It is satisfactory to note that Daniel Allin was one of the twenty-one representatives who opposed this bill—

“alleging the vote was contrary to Charter, Custom of England, of the Province, hindred men of the fairest estates from Representing a Town where their Estates lay, except also resident; might prove destructive to the Province.”

Lawrence Hammond in his Diary² says:—

“May 7 [1694] D^r Daniel Allen, a true Lover of his Country & most Loyal to the Crown of England, Learned, Wise, Humble pious, most true to his friend, the approved, able and beloved physician &c. Sickened Saturday the 28th day of April in y^e night, and dyed this day being Munday, to the universall grieve of all good men who were acquainted with his worth.”

“[May] 9 [1694] D^r Allen buried.”

His will, in which he is styled “Physitian,” dated November 17, 1692, was probated June 6, 1694. In the inventory of his estate, which was appraised at £2811: 12: 4, are, among other items, the following:—

“A library of Books	£ 5: 0: 0:”
“Negro Woman	26: 0: 0:”

The inventory also gives the cost of certain goods received in different ships from England, and the prices for which they

¹ Sewall's Diary, I. 386. The Editors of Sewall's Diary, quoting Hutchinson (Hist. II. 79), who says, “This provision is generally looked upon as a privilege, and a point gained by the people; but it certainly was occasioned by what is commonly called the prerogative party in government, and, however salutary, was designed as an abridgment of liberty,” add the following: “It is interesting to note that this popular error is of so ancient a date. Perhaps no other detail in our form of government has had so extensive and so pernicious an influence as this restriction of offices to persons inhabiting the districts to be represented. And as it is also a restriction upon the powers of the electors, as contracting the limits within which they can choose their public servants, it is strange that the great mass of electors are so persistently cajoled by the few local aspirants for office. We observe that Sewall voted for the proposed bill, although he had been a representative himself for a town in which he was not a resident; viz., for Westfield in 1683.”

² 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., VII. 166.

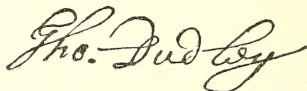
were sold here, showing the profits of the various transactions. It also appears from it that he still owned "Lands at Deadam" and was part owner of the brigantine "Hannah & Mary."

By his wife Mariana, a daughter of Freegrace Bendall, he had several children, whose births are recorded in the Boston records.

THOMAS DUDLEY.

1686-1689.

Thomas Dudley, eldest son of Governor Joseph Dudley and Rebecca his wife, and grandson of Governor Thomas Dudley, was born in Roxbury, February 26, 1669-70,¹ and was there baptized 27 1st mo. 1670.²



November 1, 1681, and again December 5, 1683, he was chosen "a scholar of the house" at Harvard College, and he was graduated there in 1685.

After the establishment of the provisional government, at a meeting of the Council June 2, 1686, Daniel Allin and Thomas Dudley were appointed Clerks for Suffolk, and against this appointment Randolph remonstrated in his petition³ to Sir Edmund Andros. Dudley continued, however, in this office, as late at least as 1689, the deeds left for record being attested by him sometimes as Recorder and sometimes as Clerk.

Judge Sewall in his Diary makes the following mention of him:—

"Monday before [October 24, 1687] Capt. Tho. Dudley comes with his Company to digg";⁴

and again, under date of November 26, 1687,⁵—

"This last week the Companies of Boston work again to finish the Fort. Friday Nov. 25. Capt Dudley brings his Company."

"March 15. [1688]. Capt. Tho. Dudley is thrown by a Horse, on oxen, and is much endangered."⁶

¹ Sibley's Harvard Graduates, III. 218.

² Roxbury Church Records in Report of the Boston Record Commissioners, VI. p. 129.

³ Mass. Archives, CXXVI. 178, *ante*, pp. 237, 238.

⁴ Sewall's Diary, I. 194.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 196.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 206.

"Sabbath, March 12. [1692-3]. Bant arrives in the America 9. weeks from the Isle of Wight; Capt. Thomas Dudley comes in him, first I heard or saw of him was at Meeting in the Afternoon, sat in his Uncle Allen's Pue."¹

"March 17. [1692-3]. This Even Mr. Dudley and his Son, Capt. Tho. Dudley, visit me."²

In a funeral sermon³ on the death of his father, Governor Joseph Dudley, the Rev. Benjamin Colman says:—

"We all know his tender affections to his Children, yet his Calm was so great in the loss of two fine Sons at once, and the *First born* a Son every way worthy of such a Father, that I have heard one that lov'd him not charge him with *Stoicism*."

Judge Sewall in his Diary,⁴ under date of June 28, 1697, says:—

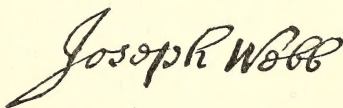
"Visited Madam Dudley in coming home, and condol'd her loss of her Sons."

This will enable us to determine approximately the date of the death of Thomas Dudley. He was starred in Mather's *Magnalia*,⁵ and according to Gilman's interleaved Triennial he was "Drownd at Sea."

JOSEPH WEBB.

1690-1698.

Joseph Webb, son of Richard Webb, of Weymouth, was born there August 19, 1640. His father removed to Boston about 1644, and Joseph was baptized at the First Church, Boston, 11^{mo} 12, 1644, he being then four years of age. He took the freeman's oath, May 12, 1675.⁶



¹ Sewall's Diary, I. 374.

² *Ibid.*, I. 375.

³ Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Honourable Joseph Dudley, Esq., Boston, 1720, p. 36.

⁴ Sewall's Diary, I. 455. There was another Capt. Thomas Dudley, a son of Paul Dudley, who is frequently mentioned in Sewall's Diary, and who must not be confounded with Thomas Dudley, son of Governor Joseph Dudley.

⁵ IV. 136. Catalogus, eorum qui in Collegio Harvardino, quod est Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum, ab anno 1642, ad annum 1698, alicujus gradus laurea donati sunt.

⁶ Mass. Col. Records, V. 536.

At a town meeting in Boston, March 12, 1676-7, he was chosen one of the sealers of leather.¹ And again, under date of July 29, 1689,—

“At a publique Meetinge of the Inhabitants of this Towne vpon lawfull warninge for choyce of a Clerke of the writts was nominated to be presented to y^e Countie Court & allowed by them for y^t Office, Mr. Joseph Webb.”²

He was Clerk of the County Court from 1689 to 1692, and Clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas from 1692 to 1698. The deeds left for record in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds, from 1690 to 1698, were attested by him, either as Clerk or as Register.

He died in Boston, October 9, 1698.

Judge Sewall in his Diary³ makes the following entry:—

“Octob^r 11. 1698. Mr. Joseph Webb buried. Bearers. Cook, Elisha Hutchinson, Sewall, Addington, Eliakim Hutchinson, Duñer. Mr. Allin and Wadsworth there. I saw no other Ministers.”

By wife Grace he had children, one of whom, his eldest son, the Rev. Joseph Webb, of Fairfield, Connecticut (Harv. Coll. 1684), was appointed, February 2, 1698-9, administrator of his estate, which was appraised at £819: 5: 0. His land with the house thereon near the head of the Town dock, Boston, appraised at £300, was settled upon the eldest son.

¹ Boston Town Records, II. 103.

² *Ibid.*, II. 187. At a meeting of the Selectmen of Boston, September 26, 1709 (Selectmen's Records, I. 198), the following order was passed:—

“Whereas the Records of Births, deaths and Marriages dureing the time in w^{ch} Mr Joseph Webb deceaced was Clerk of y^e writts, have been Since his death heitherto missing and not come to light, untill now Lately Several wast bookes thereof are found lieing on file with the Records of the County of Suffolke, they being not yet digested into Alphabeticall order So as to be of use.

“Ordered that the present Town Clerk do procure the Same to be So digested and Carefully transcribed So as to become usefull.”

³ Sewall's Diary, I. 485.

ADDINGTON DAVENPORT.

1698-1714.

Addington Davenport, the son of Eleazer Davenport, mariner, and his wife, Rebecca, daughter of Isaac Addington, Sen^r, and sister of the Hon. Isaac Addington, was born in Boston August 3, 1670.



He was graduated at Harvard College in 1689.¹

He became a member of the Artillery Company in 1692,² was Clerk of the Superior Court of Judicature from 1695 to 1698, Clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas from 1698 to 1714, and Clerk of the House of Representatives in 1697 and 1698, under the new Charter.

The deeds left for record in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds, from 1698 to 1714, were attested by him as Register.

At a town meeting held in Boston December 27, 1708, he was one of the Committee chosen to draw up a Charter of Incorporation.³ He was a Justice of the Peace, an Inspector of the Grammar Schools, and held various offices in the gift of the town. He was one of the Selectmen in 1711, Representative in 1711, 1712, and 1713, and was chosen member of the Council in 1714, in which body he served seventeen years in all.

On the death of Isaac Addington, Secretary of the Province, the Governor appointed, March 26, 1715,⁴ Addington Davenport and Paul Dudley to take care of the seals and the office until the appointment of the new secretary.

He was appointed, September 16, 1715, a Special Justice, and, December 9, 1715, December 12, 1728, and June 21, 1733, Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature.⁵

Judge Sewall in his Diary⁶ makes this entry:—

¹ Sibley's Harvard Graduates, III. 412.

² Roberts' History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, I. 291, 293.

³ Boston Town Records. II. 299.

⁴ Council Records, VI. 335.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 376, 395; IX. 103, 414.

⁶ Sewall's Diary, III. 70.

"Jan^y 6. [1715-6]. L^d Governour delivers the Chief Justice, M^r Davenport and me our Commissions as Judges of the Superiour Court: Gave the Oaths: The Lord help us, me especially, to keep them better than ever."

By his wife Elizabeth he had eight children, whose births are recorded in the Boston Records; but as in his will, which was dated March 1, 1735, and probated April 15, 1736, he mentions only his wife Elizabeth, his son Addington (Harv. Coll. 1719), and his daughters Elizabeth, wife of William Dudley, and Lucy, wife of the Rev. Ebenezer Turell, it is probable that his other children died before him.

The "Boston Evening Post" for April 5 and 19, 1736, contained obituary notices, from which the following extracts are made: —

"He was a Person well born, by the Father: He descended from the worthy Captain *Davenport*, who died in the Command of the Castle below the Town. His Mother was the Sister of Mr. Secretary *Addington*, whose Name will be had in Remembrance so long as the Records of this Province endure. . . . In the Year 1695, he was made Clerk to the Superiour Court, but quitted it in the Year 1698, when he was appointed Clerk to the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, and Register of Deeds for the County of *Suffolk*; which Offices he sustained till the Year 1714. So that Clerkship was his Employ for more than Twenty Years, and by his constant Diligence, Prudence, Skill and Faithfulness, he discharged every Part of it, to great Acceptance.

"In the Year 1714. he was chose into the Council, and sat there Seventeen Years in the whole, and was truly an Honour to that Board, from first to last, hardly any Business of Consequence brought upon the Carpet, but what he was employed in, and very often Chairman of the Committees of both Houses of the General Court, and was always observed to take great care of the Honour of the Government, and yet at the same Time, to secure the just Liberties of his Country, and never among them that are given to Change.

"He was no forward Speaker, but did not spare when there was Occasion; and as his Words were waited for, so his Judgment was much hearkened to, and relied upon; and the Stability of those Times were much owing to his Wisdom and steady Council.

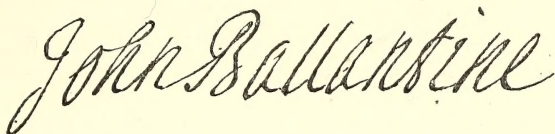
"In the Year 1715. he was appointed One of the Justices of the Superiour Court and continued so to his Death, saving that for the last Year and an half, he was very much taken off from the Service of the Bench, by a Series of Fits and Languishing, which at length brought him to the Grave, *viz.* the second of *April* Current."

JOHN BALLANTINE.

1714-1735.

John Ballantine, son of Captain John Ballantine, merchant, was born in Boston, March 15, 1674, and was graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1694.

He joined the Artillery Company in



1694, was second sergeant of the company in 1700, ensign in 1706, lieutenant in 1708.¹ He was Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment in 1709, and Colonel in 1712.

At a town meeting held in Boston December 27, 1708,² he was one of the Committee chosen to draw up a Charter of Incorporation. At a town meeting held March 15, 1708-9,³ he was chosen one of the overseers of the poor, but declined to serve. At town meetings held March 12, 1710-11, March 10, 1711-12, March 10, 1712-13, August 18, 1713, and March 16, 1713-14, he was chosen one of the "scavengers."⁴ He served also on various committees of the town, and at a town meeting held May 3, 1726,⁵ was chosen one of the Representatives.

¹ Roberts' History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, I. 302, 303, 323, 363. Judge Sewall in his Diary (II. 235) says: "7: 6 [1708] I Train under Capt Fitch . . . As were Shooting at the Mark, the Rain oblig'd us to put on our Cloaks. Went to Capt. Lieut. Ballentine's; made an excellent Volley at Lodging the Colours, Mad^a Ballentine rec'd them in at window."

² Boston Town Records, II. 299.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 304.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 319, 334, 342, 346; Boston Selectmen's Records, II. 108.

At a town meeting, March 10, 1712-13 (Town Records, II. 342) it was voted "That the Selectmen be desired to draw up what they shall think proper to be voted ab^t the Office & power of Scavingers and to make report therof at y^e next Town meeting."

The Selectmen, April 14, 1713 (Selectmen's Records, II. 89), agreed upon a report which was presented and acted upon at a town meeting May 13, 1713. (Town Records, II. 344.) Further action was had at other meetings. (*Ibid.*, II. 250, 344, 352, 387, 446, etc.) The town was divided into eight districts, each under the charge of a "Scavenger," who was empowered to hire or impress horses, carts, and carters to carry away the dirt in the streets, and to prosecute persons for breach of town orders or by-laws in relation to streets.

⁵ Boston Town Records, II. 454. Judge Sewall in his Letter Book (II. 224) gives a list of the "Boston Representatives chosen second day May 8, 1727," and adds, "Col John Ballantine was a Representative last year."

He was a Justice of the Peace, and, from 1714 to 1734 inclusive, Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas.¹ He was one of the Prince subscribers.²

At a town meeting held March 13, 1715-16,³ he was chosen County Register, an office which he held until his death.

He died January 2, 1734-5. His will, dated January 2, 1734, probated January 27, 1734, makes provision for his wife and children. His wife Mary and her brother, the Hon. Adam Winthrop, were appointed executors. His estate was appraised at £2071: 13: 6.

The "New England Weekly Journal" for January 6, 1734-5, published the following obituary notice:—

"Thursday, Jan. 2d 1735, died here, [Boston] John Ballantine Esq. one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, Clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and Register of Deeds for the County of Suffolk; all which posts he discharged with great prudence and fidelity, and was a gentleman beloved and esteemed among us."

Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD said:—

There hangs in my son's dining-room at Wellesley Hills a watercolor picture, about 18 by 12 inches, presenting a sea view with a hilly coast. In the middle distance is a full-rigged ship flying the American colors; around her are four smaller and felucca-rigged vessels under the French flag, and a sharp action is taking place.

The ship was commanded by Captain Gamaliel Bradford, third of the name and my grandfather. Underneath are some verses, I believe written by my father, and which I will repeat, less for their merit than for their bearing on what I have to say.

"When France in her pride
O'er old Ocean would stride
And war with America wage,
She demanded each ship
Should carry a strip
Of paper called Role d'Equipage.

¹ The Act of 1697 (Province Laws, I. 298) provided that the Clerks of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas in each County should also be the Register of deeds. By the Acts of 1715 and 1720 (Province Laws, II. 8, 187) the Register of deeds was to be chosen at the March town meeting, and should continue in office for five years.

² N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, VI. 371; Memorial History of Boston, II. 561.

³ Boston Town Records, II. 364.

“ Such wrong to resent
 Our beloved President
 Gave orders as manly as sage
 That America's sons
 Should be known by their guns
 And these be their Role d'Equipage.

“ When this order appeared
 Ship Mary prepared
 Her arms *citoyen* to engage.
 She had twenty five men
 And four pounders ten
 Which the sailors called Role d'Equipage.

“ For Cadiz we steered
 Till Cape Spartel appeared,
 And the country where once was Carthage,
 And as we drew nigh
 Where the tricolors fly,
 Got in order our Role d'Equipage.

“ In Malaga Bay
 Four *sans-culottes* lay,
 Who came out with our ship to engage.
 We received them so warm
 As to do them some harm
 With our American Role d'Equipage.

“ One ventured so near
 That the role made him sheer.
Citoyen turned tail to in a rage
 And roared ‘ *Ah! Mon Dieu!*
Je n'ai jamais vu
Un tel mauvais Role d'Equipage. ’ ”

There is in my possession a large and handsome silver urn
 bearing the following inscription : —

TO
 PERPETUATE
 THE GALLANT DEFENCE
 MADE BY
 CAPT. GAMALIEL BRADFORD
 IN THE SHIP INDUSTRY ON THE 8TH OF JULY 1800
 WHEN ATTACKED BY FOUR FRENCH PRIVATEERS
 IN THE STREIGHTS OF GIBRALTAR
 THIS URN IS PRESENTED TO HIM
 BY
 SAMUEL PARKMAN.

The verses speak of the ship Mary, and it seems that my father ought to have known the name of the ship which his father commanded. On the other hand, if Mr. Parkman wished to make what was then a considerable present as a memorial, he would probably have been careful about his facts.

The later evidence is on his side, as in the following letter :

LONDON, Dec. 17. 1807.

MESSRS. RATHBUN HUGHES & DUNCAN
Liverpool.

GENT:—I have rec'd your esteemed favor of 14th inst. and in reply can state to you that the Bark Mary at present under my command is a very good vessel of 196 tons, American register built at York in the State of Massachusetts in 1802, and she might probably be ready to proceed to Liverpool in about 3 weeks. I should not be willing to accept less than £6 for any other port than Boston. I might accept a little less for Boston if £6 could not be obtained. I should be glad to receive further advices from you on this subject

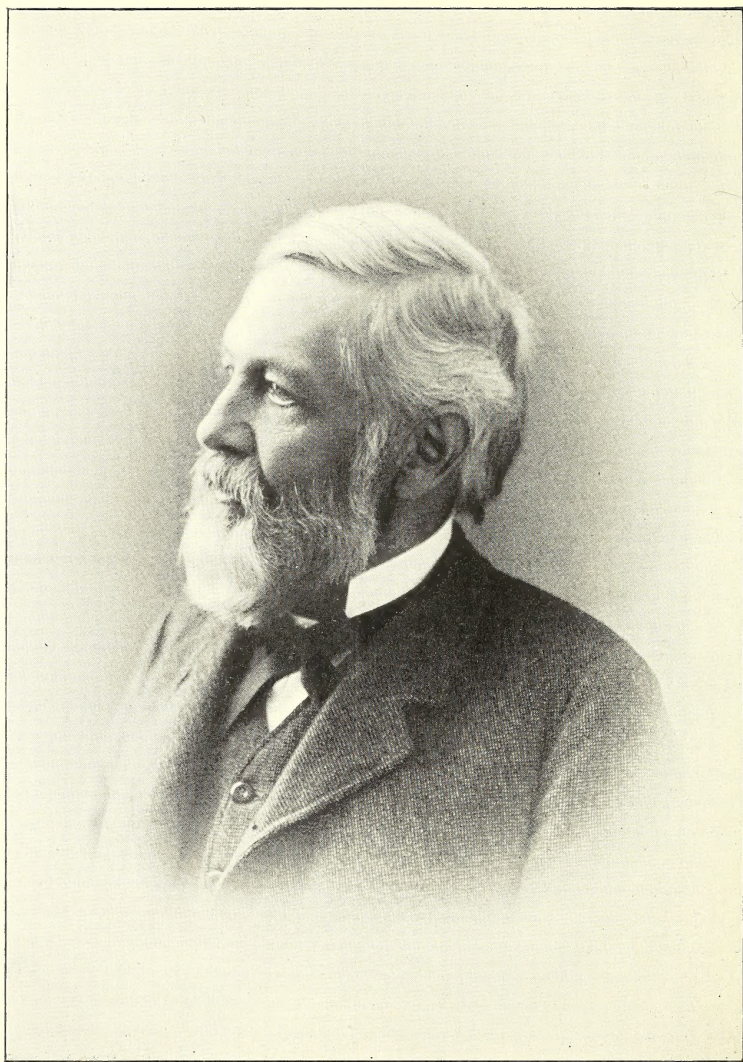
—and remain

Gentlemen your
obt Servt

GAM^L BRADFORD.

Conversational remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and by Messrs. SAMUEL A. GREEN, EDWARD J. YOUNG, JAMES F. RHODES, ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., GEORGE B. CHASE, EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and CHARLES C. SMITH.

A new serial of the Proceedings, containing the record of the February, March, and April meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.



B. M. Walton

MEMOIR
OF
BENJAMIN MARSTON WATSON, A.B.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

BENJAMIN MARSTON WATSON was born January 18, 1820, in the town of Plymouth, in Massachusetts. He bore his father's name; his mother was Lucretia Burr Sturges, of Fairfield, Connecticut. His father was the son of John Watson, who was one of the founders of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth. John Watson, then of Clark's Island, presided at the dinner on December 22, 1820, — the day when Mr. Webster delivered his celebrated oration.¹ John Watson married Lucia, daughter of Benjamin Marston, of Manchester, Massachusetts, a descendant of Gov. Edward Winslow.

Mrs. Lucretia Burr Watson, the mother of our associate, was daughter of Jonathan Sturges, of Fairfield, — a Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College, and a patriot of the Revolution. He was connected, in blood, with that other distinguished patriot Thaddeus Burr, of Fairfield, at whose house John Hancock and the celebrated Dorothy Quincy were married in August, 1775.

From such a parentage our associate inherited the best qualities which belong to the blood of the Pilgrims; and to such hereditary privileges he owed the interest, amounting to a passion, which he always took in the history of the Old Colony, of the Bay Colony, and of all New England.

My own first associations with him are those of college life. In 1835 at Cambridge, in the midst of the green lads who were to graduate in 1839 together, there appeared this boy, bright, quick, courteous, cordial, and pre-eminently handsome. He had not been trained at either of the great schools

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. p. 387.

from which I suppose half the class had come; but he had been singularly well fitted for college at the public high school of his native town. The manly and generous qualities which distinguished him through life appeared when he was fifteen as graciously as when he was seventy, and he was instantly a prime favorite in the class. He could do anything he chose in the prescribed studies, and he chose to excel.

But at that time the prescribed studies, recitations, lectures, and all, scarcely required six hours a day of a young man's time, and Watson devoted the other nine hours of daily life to a broad range of reading, study, and exercise. He was an outdoor man. Like most of the better men of Cambridge of his time, he took an interest really broad and intelligent in general literature. I remember him as more interested than any man among us, excepting Samuel Longfellow, in Dante, Tasso, and the best Italian writers. I may perhaps say, in passing, that it was to Samuel Longfellow of our class, who was perhaps Watson's most intimate friend, that we alluded when in those days we used to call Henry Longfellow, our new Professor, "the brother of the poet."

Watson's part in graduation shows that the Faculty, with whom he was a favorite as he was with us, already knew the determination of his mind. The subject assigned him is "The Life and Services of Linnæus."

He had indeed connected himself eagerly with the infant Natural History Society of the College, and had devoted to it time, thought, and work. Even at that time he was an accurate botanist and a vigorous and diligent collector. Saturday was then an "off day" in college exercises, and Watson would readily give a whole Saturday to a tramp far afield which promised some rare specimen for his or our collection. There was little enough instruction in such matters in those days in Cambridge. But they did give us a free hand. They gave us their sympathy, and they showed this sympathy by giving us the use of the basement rooms of Massachusetts, between what were then the entry halls, in which to display our collection.

Of course, we all knew this fondness of Watson for the study of natural science. But the study of natural science was not then a profession, as it is now, and I think that to most of us who loved him best, there came a sudden sense of

terror when it was whispered round among us after we graduated that he had not selected either of the conventional learned professions of that day, and that he was not "going into business," as a quarter part of the class were. Strange to say, he was going to live in Plymouth, he was going to take the garden of his mother's home and cultivate it, and he was going to establish in Plymouth such a nursery and garden as New England had never known until that time. Now that the Old Colony nurseries established by him are known all over America, this determination of this young man seems even to the most abject Philistine to have been a wise and laudable determination, such as would be approved by God, man, and all angels. But such was not the verdict of that time; not, I fancy, of his most intimate relatives and friends. It required success to justify the decision, and his remarkable success has justified it entirely.

If, however, any Philistine suppose that there is something narrowing in the calling of the landed proprietor who loves to subdue the earth, that man may learn the lesson he needs if he will read Mr. Watson's correspondence and fairly understand the range of his life. Because he went into his garden morning, noon, and night, because he entered into the joy of God in sharing the work of a creator, he made himself indeed an all-round man, more so than any one who dared to criticise him. I remember meeting him in Boston when he had walked forty miles from Plymouth that he might hear a symphony of Beethoven. And in the active life of Plymouth, in those critical hours of which there were so many in America in the years between 1840 and 1860, the critical hour always found the courageous citizen in him. Here is a charming tribute from Dr. Goodwin, who is Mr. Watson's nephew. Speaking of his own early education and of his uncle's interest and assistance in it, Dr. Goodwin says:—

"When I was preparing for Harvard College in Plymouth, more than fifty years ago, there was one subject demanded by the College in which the High School of the town was unable to give me any instruction. This subject was Greek; and for all my early knowledge of this language, and indeed for the first intimation that there was anything in it which it was worth while for a New England boy to know, I was indebted to my uncle, with whom I was brought up as a younger brother. For more than three years, during most of which he was

toiling like a laborer from morning to night on his brilliant task of transforming a piece of common Old Colony meadow, enclosed by bare stony hills, into the beautiful estate now known as Hillside, he devoted his evenings to what he deemed the equally important task of teaching me Greek. And he performed this duty well and conscientiously, sometimes even when my boyish spirit was a little inclined to rebel against the strictness of his discipline. He not only prepared me to enter college without conditions in the Greek which was then required (which was nearly as much as is now read in our best schools), but he induced me to read five books of the Iliad besides. To this early training I owe more than I can express."¹

When one remembers who writes these words, he understands better how varied were Mr. Watson's services to all who were around him.

Another correspondent writes: "His most intimate correspondents were Mr. R. W. Emerson, Mr. Alcott, Mr. Thoreau, and more lately Mr. F. B. Sanborn." In a letter from Mr. Emerson, the great philosopher tells the "secret of genius," and such a revelation is so rarely made that I think I am justified in copying the whole letter.

CONCORD, 25 August, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR, — Our supper table showed a surprise party last night, through the arrival of your beautiful box of "herbs." It is partly owing to their miraculous efficacy that I am walking on two feet to-day without a staff. When I think of your art, your grounds, and of what your bank holds, I count the days lost in which I have not gone to Plymouth. But this secret of the garden, too, is the secret of genius again. All the land and trees and rules in the world will never help, till the man makes the opportunity. But I like to hear what Channing and what Alcott have to say about you and yours.

With kind regards to Mrs. Watson and to Ben,

Yours gratefully,

R. W. EMERSON.

Early in life he married Miss Mary Russell, of Plymouth, and together they made the beautiful home which has such charming associations for his friends. Miss Russell was the daughter of Hon. Thomas Russell, of Plymouth, once the Treasurer of the Commonwealth, and sister of our late associate William Goodwin Russell, and of Judge Thomas Russell. They found a bare New England pasture, raked by the east

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. x. pp. 468, 469.

winds from Massachusetts Bay, where is now a paradise of beauty. Fifty-two years have passed and "those sterile slopes are covered with a growth of trees which seem primeval now and even promise timber." His old friends remember with pleasure that the plan of the pleasant home established here was drawn by his classmate and life-long friend, Rev. Samuel Longfellow. In the increasing shade of Hillside passed the happy years of a useful life.

He studied diligently the literature of his profession, was thoroughly acquainted with the scientific or botanical side of it, and practically acquainted with the details of his calling in the conduct of a great nursery. Whatever the world had to offer which gave good promise for the horticulture or agriculture of New England, that he bought or tried in the Old Colony nurseries, his special interest being in trees and shrubs. The country owes to him the general introduction of the Japanese honeysuckle, which is now so well and generally known. But this is only one of the shrubs and vines with which he tried experiments, and which he introduced as fast as he found that it was desirable for other people to use them.

"He was always interested in our native shrubs and trees, and anticipated some of the work now so prominent in the Fenway and in the Arboretum by planting in the shrubberies at Hillside such things as clethra and black alder, viburnum cassinoides, rhodora, and rhododendron maximum, the yellow and canoe birches. Many of these have established themselves and come up wild in every direction. He gave himself over to collecting all varieties of one plant at times; but this collection would be given up and another made after a few years.

" . . . He had great interest also in garden vegetables, and made various attempts to grow melons, turnips, celery, and cabbages for the Boston market. He also tried to grow peaches on a large scale at one time, and had three thousand peach trees planted. He grew strawberries very successfully and in great variety, occasionally exhibiting his successful results.

" . . . Another hobby of his was to utilize our wild flowers for the market, — sabbatia, goldenrod, and asters. I believe he once agreed to supply the flowers for some public dinner, using the sabbatia, which, you know, is now sold in the streets."

He was not a great traveller. He never crossed to Europe, of which he knew the botany so well, nor did he travel much in

his own country. Kansas was his farthest point to the westward, and he made at least one trip to Canada.

While carrying on this professional life, he retained always his interest in books. He read and wrote a great deal, though he printed so little. He was greatly interested in the early life of New England, that of the settlers and that of the Indians also.

He collected all the new books on religious subjects, and "rejoiced in Darwin and Huxley, and in all the new light that came into the world."

As one said who loved him, "It must be the rare and beautiful trees who will speak his praises and keep his memory green,—his 'dear country cousins,' as he would say when I asked him with whom he had been conversing in the garden."

Mr. Watson was chosen into our Society in the year 1891, a noble representative of the Old Colony elements in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He died in Plymouth, February 19, 1896.

JUNE MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the month was also read.

Rev. James De Normandie, of Roxbury, was elected a Resident Member; and John Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, was elected a Corresponding Member.

It was then voted, that during July, August, and September the meetings be discontinued, the President and Recording Secretary having power to call a special meeting, if necessary.

The PRESIDENT then submitted from the Council the following report:—

Keenly appreciative of the exceptional interest and value of the gift made to the Society at its last meeting by our associate Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., the Council feel that special action is called for. It therefore reports the following votes:

Voted, That the thanks of the Society are hereby given to our associate Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., for the gift, made to it at the May meeting, of an original letter in the handwriting of Governor William Bradford, with the draught of a reply to the same indorsed thereon by Governor John Winthrop,—a document for Massachusetts and for this Society of unique and unsurpassed historical interest.

Voted, That the Council be requested to direct the architect in charge of the construction of the new Society Building to make special provision in connection with the interior decoration of the Ellis room for the preservation of this document and its conspicuous exhibition.

Voted, That the Secretary forward to Mr. Winthrop a copy of the foregoing votes.

On motion of Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, the report was accepted and the recommendation of the Council was adopted.

The PRESIDENT from the Committee to which was referred the expediency of preparing and publishing memorial editions of Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation and Winthrop's History of New England, reported as follows :

The Special Committee to which was referred the paper from the Council presented at the April meeting of the Society, relating to the publication of memorial editions of the histories of Bradford and Winthrop, respectfully submit the following report : —

Your Committee have examined into the matter, and have satisfied themselves that the project is in every respect one desirable to carry out, and easily within the power of the Society. The question of the number of volumes which the proposed publication would require will largely depend upon the character and length of the notes and other editorial matter. In all probability there would be five volumes, three of the Winthrop and two of the Bradford ; though, possibly, the number might be reduced to four.

While the cost of the work cannot be definitely stated in advance, the Committee are satisfied that it would come well within the means of the Society. On this point they have consulted leading publishing-houses with results altogether reassuring, though necessarily somewhat indefinite. In all probability the number of copies sold would pay the entire cost of printing ; and while there should be little or no danger of any considerable loss, the sales might result in a favorable balance.

The time in which the work could be done cannot be ascertained until it is entered upon, and those in charge of it make their reports.

Under these circumstances, your Committee would recommend the passage of the following votes : —

Voted, That the following persons constitute a Committee to which shall be intrusted the work of editing, on the part of the Society, the proposed memorial editions of the Bradford and Winthrop histories, — Messrs. Warren, Channing, Lord, Appleton, Dexter, to whom shall be added, *ex officio*, the

President of the Society and the Editor, the former to be Chairman of the Committee.

Voted, That the Committee be authorized to proceed in the work of editing the proposed memorial editions of said histories whenever the plan for so doing, together with the estimates of cost, etc., submitted by them, shall meet with the approval of the Council.

Voted, That the Council be authorized, on behalf of the Society, to enter into any contracts that may seem to it proper and fairly within the means of the Society, in relation to the publication and sale of said memorial editions.

Mr. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., expressed the opinion that a matter of so much importance as this required careful consideration, and on his motion it was voted that the report be printed and referred to the October meeting.

Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL submitted the following report:

Your Committee appointed on April 14 last to consider and report upon the appointment of an Historical Manuscripts Committee respectfully begs leave to report as follows: —

The duty of the Society in relation to collections of private papers may be briefly summarized as follows: —

1. To discover and keep track of any valuable collections in private hands which are held in Massachusetts or elsewhere, and relate to Massachusetts history or to the history of the nation.

2. To use every means in its power to spread abroad a knowledge that the papers of any man who has held a public station, or been in a position to know something of public affairs, are valuable, so that information may be given to members of the Society.

3. To rescue from destruction sets of documents which are not appreciated by their owners, or which are in danger of loss by fire, by neglect, or by the piratical visits of autograph hunters, and to secure them for the Society if possible.

4. To receive on deposit in its fire-proof building collections which may be endangered, or which are likely to fall into the hands of people ignorant of their value.

5. To follow out its time-honored policy of publishing such parts of private collections as are of historical interest.

6. To calendar papers from its own stores, or from those of private owners, where publication of considerable parts is not practicable.

Of the functions thus outlined, how many does the Society now carry out? It makes no systematic effort to find or record sets of documents, — though some of the members do make untiring search, and from time to time give copies or originals to the Society for publication. The Society as such does not make the public aware of the importance of preserving documents. The Society has for some years acquired few sets of documents by gift, and has in general calendared only documents in its possession.

Your Committee believes that the Society ought to stand in the public mind as the natural place of deposit, or gift, of valuable sets of private papers. If it be the wish of the Society to make itself a force for the preservation of documents, and to stand before the public as a proper depository, it must renew its efforts to carry on the original policy of the Society. This is the time to do so, now that we are about to occupy a building with plenty of fire-proof space and to administer considerable publication funds.

Your Committee is of opinion that such a policy should take three forms: a direct appeal to the people most likely to have documents: the creation of a standing committee on the collection of documents and manuscripts; and the establishment of a close relation with other bodies engaged in a like pursuit of manuscript material.

The appeal should be a carefully drawn circular, asking for information about private collections and documents. This circular should be sent to all the officers of local historical societies in Massachusetts and other parts of New England, to librarians, to families likely to have papers of public importance, to heads of colleges and schools, and to the editors of local newspapers. Each circular should be accompanied, so far as possible, by a private letter by some member of the Society. The circular should state the willingness of the Society to send a member to inspect any promising collections, and should hold out the possibility of storing collections in the Society's building, and of the calendaring or publication of valuable material.

The administration might well be put into the hands of a

small committee, — say of five members, — who should, subject to the approval of the Society, prepare and circulate the appeal, and stand ready to make some sacrifice of time and strength to visit and examine manuscript collections. The committee might also consider the calendaring of collections which could not be transferred to the Society, and the preparation of finding-lists of documents in private hands.

In all this work pains should be taken to co-operate with the local societies, and especially with the National Historical Manuscripts Commission, recently founded by the American Historical Association, so as to bring new material to their notice, and to share in discoveries of sets which they do not intend to publish.

As to the amount of such material which could be brought to light, no estimate can be made. There are to the knowledge of the members of the Committee at least three important collections which might perhaps be acquired at once, and it is the belief of the Committee that a systematic effort would reveal many more. This Society is one of the few really active and efficient historical organizations in the country. The criticisms made by your Committee, and its suggestion of new fields of activity, are therefore intended to be a recognition of the services of the Society and of its officers, and a plea for a continuation of that effort which has kept the Society vigorous for a hundred years. It is for us to do for the historical manuscripts of this century what our predecessors did for the manuscripts of the colonial period.

Your Committee is clearly of opinion that in accomplishing these objects persons who are not Resident Members of the Society can be of the greatest assistance; but experience alone can show how many such persons had better be placed upon the committee, and in fact the number may well vary from time to time.

Your Committee therefore recommends that a committee of five Resident Members of this Society be annually appointed by the President for the purposes set forth in this report, with power to add to their number from time to time such Corresponding Members of the Society or other persons as they may think wise.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

JAMES FORD RHODES.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

On motion the report was accepted, and the Committee discharged.

On motion of Mr. LOWELL it was then

Voted : That in addition to the regular Committees already provided, a committee of five Resident Members of this Society be appointed, and hereafter appointed annually, to be known as the Historical Manuscripts Committee.

Voted : That the purposes of the Committee shall be as set forth in the report of the Special Committee this day accepted ; that the Committee be appointed by the President, and that it have power to add to its number from time to time such Corresponding Members of the Society, or other persons, as it may think wise.

The President subsequently appointed the following to constitute the Committee in question for the current year, to wit : Messrs. Lowell, Hart, Rhodes, Hoar, and Schouler.

The Hon. THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE presented a very large and important collection of papers which had belonged to his great-grandfather, President Thomas Jefferson, and spoke in substance as follows :—

I have before me the catalogue of a large collection of papers belonging to the family of President Jefferson. These have, during the past few years, been offered for sale to Congress, and Senator Hoar, a distinguished member of this Society, has taken a deep interest in trying to induce our government to purchase them and put them in safety with the other valuable manuscripts of Mr. Jefferson which it possesses.

My attention was first called to this matter by a request, made me some three years ago, to urge the members from Massachusetts, and any personal friends I might have in the two houses, to examine the letters, as it was thought by Mr. Randolph's family that no member of Congress would hesitate a moment to purchase them for the government when their real merit was known. I did so, and many other and more influential people took an interest in the matter, but it was all in vain. I think the bill passed one of the houses, but failed to come up in the other ; and, before anything was done, the war came on and put an end to all chance of their purchase. I had felt all along that the most suitable place for the collec-

tion would be the Massachusetts Historical Society. They would be as safe as in Washington, and I think more easily attainable; and our Society was full of men who would take a personal interest in looking through them. Besides, it would be a gratification to me personally to have them rest in Massachusetts, as a sign that all party feeling had long ceased to exist, and that the two States of Virginia and Massachusetts, where Jefferson's blood had intermingled, treasured alike his memory.

I have been successful in acquiring these papers, and present them now to your Honorable body, trusting that you will keep them in safety and honor, in the beautiful building which is being now erected.

They consist of the following letters:—

Mr. Jefferson's letters from 1790 to 1800, including some written previous to 1790, consisting of over 400 autograph letters signed.

Mr. Jefferson's letters from 1800 to 1810, consisting of over 700 autograph letters signed.

Mr. Jefferson's letters from 1810 to 1820, consisting of over 700 autograph letters signed.

Mr. Jefferson's letters from 1820 to 1826, containing over 400 autograph letters signed.

Letters from Mr. Jefferson to members of his family, consisting of over 700 autograph letters signed.

Letters from members of the family to Mr. Jefferson, in number 658.

Contents of the tin case which Mr. Jefferson had made to contain his commissions, credentials, etc.

Miscellaneous letters and papers written by Mr. Jefferson.

Bundle of accounts while President and Vice-President.

Account of the Life and political services of George Nicholas, from 1755 to 1799, written by Gov. W. C. Nicholas.

Letters relating to the War of 1812.

Autograph letters written by Washington, Adams, Madison, Monroe, Dr. Benj. Rush, William C. Rives, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, Arthur Lee, Chief Justice Story, Chas. Carroll of Carrollton, and others.

I will now, with your permission, read the description which was annexed to them when offered to Congress, and which gives a most impressive picture of their merit.

This collection of Mr. Jefferson's papers, now offered for sale, numbers by actual count 3060, none of which are duplicated in the collection of the State Department. The papers are contained in 21 large portfolios. The letters are usually written on large sheets of paper,

and are, save in a very few instances, in perfect preservation. They are also, almost without exception, autograph letters.

Here in these letters, written while Minister to France, Secretary of State, Vice-President and President, and after his retirement to Monticello (from 1784 to 1826), we have a record of his daily life with its numberless interests; a picture of his family and home of delightful charm, and a running commentary on the early political history of the country by one of the most prominent actors.

The letters to the Randolphs and Eppes, his daughters and their husbands, form in some respects the most valuable part of the whole collection. To them he wrote with more freedom and confidence. The letters written during the exciting presidential struggle of 1800, when the question lay between himself and Burr, during the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws, at the time of the acquisition of Louisiana, will be found of remarkable interest and value.

Another side of his character, and one which is probably new to most persons, is seen in the letters to his children and grandchildren.

This catalogue, while of necessity brief and simple in form, shows the richness and value of the collection.

There are few Americans who do not know and reverence the name of Jefferson, but they know him only as the statesman.

These letters are most valuable because they show his extraordinary activity of mind, his breadth of thought, his wide interests.

They show him as the Virginian, never weary in working for the interests of his State; as the planter, to whom no smallest detail of management was beneath consideration; as the wise and loving father, whose playful tenderness gives a special charm to the letters to his daughter; and in so showing, help his countrymen to understand better the man to whom they owe the Declaration of Independence.

In addition to these 3060 letters of Jefferson's there are a number of letters to him, 170 of which I have closely examined and found to be very valuable; doubtless there are many others equally valuable. Of those that I have examined are letters from such men as Benj. Rush, his brother Richard, Adams, Madison, and Monroe, Kosciusko, Wm. C. Rives, David Rittenhouse, Timothy Pickering, Edward, Robert, and Brockholst Livingston, Edmund Pendleton, Edmund Randolph, Count Jean Potocki (the Polish historian), Arthur Lee, Chief Justice Story, George Ticknor, and Andrew Stevenson (Speaker of the House and Minister to France).

In addition to these are the Nicholas letters which show plainly the sources of the famous resolutions of 1798 and 1799 — letters from Wilson Cary Nicholas, George Nicholas, of Kentucky, and James Breckenridge, of Kentucky, whose names were so closely connected with the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.

August, 1895.

Will you permit me to read a few extracts from some of the letters, selected after a very hurried perusal, in order to give you some idea of the variety of the subjects treated and the interesting nature of the collection?

The first extract is taken from a letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, and relates to Jefferson's religious opinions:—

WASHINGTON, Apr. 21, 1803.

“In some of the delightful conversations with you, in the evenings of 1798, '99, and which served as an anodyne to the afflictions of the crisis through which our country was then labouring, the Christian religion was sometimes our topic; and I then promised you that one day or other, I would give you my views of it. They are the result of a life of enquiry and reflection, and very different from that Anti-Christian system imputed to me by those who know nothing of my opinions. To the corruptions of Christianity, I am indeed opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian in the only sense in which he wished anyone to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence; and believing he never claimed any other.

“At the short intervals since these conversations, when I could justifiably abstract my mind from public affairs, this subject has been under my contemplation. But the more I considered it, the more it expanded beyond the measure of either my time or information. In the moment of my late departure from Monticello, I received from Dr. Priestley, his little treatise on ‘Socrates & Jesus compared.’ This being a section of the general view I had taken of the field, it became a subject of reflection while on the road, and unoccupied otherwise. The result was to arrange in my mind a Syllabus or Outline of such an Estimate of the comparative merits of Christianity, as I wished to see executed by some one of more leisure and information for the task than myself. This I now send you, as the only discharge of my promise I can probably ever execute, and in confiding it to you, I know it will not be exposed to the malignant perversions of those who make every word from me a text for new misrepresentations and calumnies, etc. etc.

“I am moreover averse to the communication of my religious tenets to the public; because it would countenance the presumption of those who have endeavored to draw them before that tribunal and to seduce public opinion to erect itself into that inquisition over the rights of conscience, which the laws have so justly proscribed. It behoves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own. It behoves him, too, in his own case,

to give no example of concession, betraying the common rights of independent opinion, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself."

The next letter relates to the Embargo ; it is addressed to William Pinkney : —

MONTICELLO, July 15, 1810.

"On politics I have little to say, and little need be said to you who are better informed from another quarter. You will have seen that Massachusetts, N. Hampshire and R. Island have got back to the ground which a temporary delusion induced them to quit for a moment. Unfortunately it was a moment decisive of our destiny. I speak of that which produced a repeal of the embargo. Considerable discontent was certainly excited in Massachusetts, but its extent was magnified infinitely beyond its reality, and an intrigue of (I believe) not more than two or three members, reputed republicans, excited in Congress a belief that we were under the alternative of civil war, or a repeal of the embargo, and the embargo was repealed. Thus were we driven by treason among ourselves from the high and wise ground we had taken, and which had it been held, would have either restored us our free trade, or have established manufactories among us. The latter object will still be allowed, at least as to household manufactures, which is more than the half in value of what we have heretofore received from abroad, but the imprudent adventures of our merchants have put into the hands of the robbers by sea and land, much of the embargo had received for employment in manufactures. I am supremely happy in being withdrawn from these turmoils."

The following shows his abhorrence of Napoleon. It is dated Monticello, February 6, 1816, and addressed to Stephen Cathalan : —

"My wishes are for the happiness of France, without caring what executive magistrate makes her happy. I must confess however, I did not wish it to be Bonaparte — I considered him as the very worst of all human beings, and as having inflicted more misery on mankind than any other who had ever lived. I was very unwilling that the example of his parricide usurpation should finally stand approved by success. He is now off the scene, I hope never to return on it, but whether you are much more at your ease in the hands of the allies, you know better than I do."

In a letter to William Tudor, the author of "The Life of James Otis," I find the following extract relating to Dr. Franklin's feelings before the War of Independence : —

MONTICELLO, Feb. 14, 1823.

"With respect to the part of it relating to Dr. Franklin of which you ask my opinion particularly, I have perused it with attention and as far as my personal acquaintance authorizes me to say, I think it generally just and correct. Of one point however I was not aware, to wit that the Dr. came more tardily into the idea of resistance by arms than others generally. When he returned from England and took his first seat in Congress, which was before our 2nd petition to the king, he was as forward as any of us; and he first laid on our table a form of confed'n. However it is very possible that while he cont'd in England, summoned by the appalling means of that powerful nation, and comparing them with ours, he might have doubts whether the array in arms might not be better postponed awhile. On this subject however I have no particular information."

The following extracts written to his beloved daughter, Martha, are interesting as showing his hatred of political strife and his domestic tastes:—

PHILADELPHIA, June 6, 1797.

"When I look to the pleasures of my family society, I become more and more disgusted with the jealousies, the hatred and the rancorous and malignant passions of this scene, and lament my having ever again been drawn into public view."

PHILADELPHIA, May 17, 1798.

"For you to feel all the happiness of your quiet situation, you should know the rancorous passions which tear every breast here, even of the sex which should be a stranger to them, politics and party hatreds destroy the happiness of every being here, they seem like salamanders, to consider fire as their element."

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 11, 1800.

"My absence from you teaches me how essential your society is to my happiness; politics are such a torment that I would advise everyone I love not to mix with them."

On June 4, 1804, he writes to J. W. Eppes regarding his personal feelings to President Adams:—

WASHINGTON, June 4, 1804.

"I enclose a letter from Mrs. Adams . . . a proof that our friendship is unbroken on her part. It has been a strong one, and has gone through trying circumstances on both sides, yet I retain it thoroughly both for herself and Mr. Adams; he and myself have gone through so many scenes together that all his qualities have been proved to me, and I know him to possess so many good ones, as that I have never withdrawn my esteem, and I am happy that this letter gives me an

opportunity of expressing it to both of them. I shall do it with a frank declaration that one act of his life, and never but one, gave me personal displeasure; his midnight appointments. If respect for him will not permit me to ascribe that altogether to the influence of others, it will leave me something for friendship to forgive" etc.

Another extract to his grandson places farming above a profession:—

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3, 1808.

"I do not know whether your father intends you for a profession, or to be a farmer. This last is the most honorable and happy of all . . . I fear you are at present engaged in almost too much, however wonders may be done by incessant occupation . . . if you are obliged to neglect anything let it be your chemistry, it is the least useful and least amusing to a country gentleman of all the ordinary branches of science."

An attack on Jackson:—

MONTICELLO, Dec. 8, 1809.

"You will expect no political news hence. I find that one general sentiment of indignation against Mr. Jackson both as to the matter and manner of his offers. I am not disappointed as to his matter, but as to his manner I am. I expected he would be oily, wily and able. I find him rude, malignant and muddy-headed as to the question what is to be done."

And the Federalists:—

MONTICELLO, Mar. 4, 1811.

"Your character of the Federalists is not exaggerated. Bitterer enemies of their country do not exist in France, England or Spain. Those in Congress, with John Randolph now consolidated with their body, would be delighted that Great Britain could conquer and reduce us again under her government, and Pickering, Quincey and Gardenier would rather France should do it than we should remain under a republican administration. Mr. Madison, as you justly observe, must be supported, with so unprincipled and traitorous an opposition; the republican who schismatises is a traitor in deed, altho' he may not be in intention. I am sorry that you retire in so dubious a state of things, . . . besides your services in the house, what greater could you render your country than by the exclusion of John Randolph, the most envenomed enemy to a democratical republican government which it has ever seen. If his adder tongue can so infatuate his constituents as that ordinary candidates cannot obtain their suffrage, it becomes the more incumbent on him who can, to offer himself. His exclusion alone would give greater security to our government, than the repeal of the British orders."

On metaphysics:—

MONTICELLO, June 27, 1821.

“No well educated person should be entirely ignorant of the operations of the human mind, to which the name of metaphysics has been given. There are three books on this subject. Locke’s essay on the human understanding, Tracy’s elements of Idiology, and Stewart’s Philosophy of the human mind; any one of which will communicate as much on the subject as is worth attention. . . . I consider Tracy as the most correct Metaphysician living . . . to pursue the science further is following a Will of the wisp, and a very useless waste of time much better given to sciences more palpable and more useful in the businesses of life.”

The next is a letter to his granddaughter, Ellen, who had married Joseph Coolidge, of Boston, in 1825. The President was then very poor; his plantations in Virginia had been rendered of very little value by the richer lands of the West, and were too far north to allow of the culture of cotton which had saved the South. Tobacco had exhausted the soil of Virginia and was no longer remunerative. He had found it very hard to get together a trousseau for his granddaughter, who had always lived with him and whom he had brought up at his knee. This trousseau was shipped from Charleston to Boston, and the schooner in which it was, was lost at sea. The President could not replace the things, but tried to make up the loss by sending to his granddaughter the desk on which the Declaration of Independence was written. This desk remained in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge until their death, when the family decided to give it to the nation. They requested Mr. Winthrop, the father of our friend and associate, to do so, and he went on to Washington and presented the desk in his usual felicitous language, in the name of the family. Two Senators and two members of Congress, one each from the North and from the South, responded eloquently in accepting the heirloom. It is now in the State Library at Washington. Several copies were made of it, and I was amused in reading in an essay by Smalley, that on visiting Bismarck he found a desk there which the statesman thought was the original. Undoubtedly one of the *copies* had been presented or sold to the great German.

I now read the letter:—

MONTICELLO, Nov. 14, 1825.

"We condole with you on the loss of your baggage, (especially) that beautiful writing desk . . . it has occurred to me, however, that I can replace it, not indeed to you, but to Mr. Coolidge, by a substitute not claiming the same value from its decorations, but from . . . the events with which it has been associated . . . surely a connection with the great charter of our independence may give a value to what has been associated with that . . . I happen still to possess the writing box on which it was written; it was made from a drawing of my own and I have used it ever since. . . . Mr. Coolidge must do me the favor of accepting this, its imaginary value will increase with years, and . . . another half century may see it carried in the procession of our nation's birthday, as the relics of the saints are in those of the church."

The next extract is from a letter, dated 1816, of Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, showing the kind feeling which existed between the two, notwithstanding rumors to the contrary:—

December 16, 1816.

"Travellers bring us such delightful accounts of Monticello and its inhabitants that I am tempted to wish myself twenty years younger, that I might visit them, but I am so far down hill, that I must only think of those pleasures which are past. Amongst which, and not the least, is my early acquaintance with, and the continued Friendship of, the phylosopher of Monticello."

I have already trespassed upon your time so long that I will detain you but once more to make you acquainted with a very characteristic letter of George Washington to one of his officers, in which he gives the preference to native soldiers over foreign:—

HEAD QUARTERS CAMP AT MIDDLEBROOK, June 4, 1777.

To the Commanding Officer of the 14th Virginia Regiment—Camp.

I want to form a Company for my Guard. In doing this I wish to be extremely cautious; because it is more than probable that in the course of the Campaign, my Baggage, Papers, and other matters of great public import may be committed to the sole care of these men.

This being premised in order to impress you with proper Attentions in the choice, I have to request you that you will immediately furnish me with Four Men of your Reg't; and as it is my further wish that this Company sh'd look well and be nearly of a size, I desire that none of the men may exceed in stature 5 feet 10 inches, nor fall short of 5 feet 9 inches. Sober, young, active and well made. When I recommend care in your Choice, I w'd be understood to mean men of good

Character in the Regt that possess the pride of appearing clean & soldier-like.

I am satisfied there can be no absolute security for the Fidelity of this Class of people, but yet I think it most likely to be found in those who have Family-Connections in the Country.

You will therefore send me none but Natives & Men of some Property, if you have them. I must insist that in making this Choice You give no Intimation of my Preference of Natives, as I do not want to create any invidious Distinction between them & the Foreigners.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient
and very hum'e Serv't

G^o. WASHINGTON.

ALBERT B. HART, Ph.D., then moved the following vote, which was adopted:—

Voted, That the grateful thanks of the Society are hereby tendered to Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge for the generous gift of invaluable unpublished manuscripts of his distinguished ancestor, Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Coolidge has thus made the most important addition to the Society's capital of manuscripts which has been received for many years; and he has thus put the Society and his countrymen under great obligation.

Mr. Hart also moved the following vote, which, at the suggestion of the President, was referred to the Council:—

Voted, That it be recommended to the Council to consider the question of preparing these manuscripts for publication as the next considerable enterprise of the Society.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, in communicating the following paper, said:—

More than three years ago I presented a list of Early American Imprints belonging to the Historical Society, which appears in the Proceedings (second series, IX. 410-540) for February, 1895. Since that time the Library has acquired, either by gift or purchase, some additional titles of similar works; and since then, moreover, I have been able to examine certain books there described from imperfect copies. In order to supplement that paper and make the list of Early Imprints

more complete, I herewith submit a collation of such books ; and at the same time I take the opportunity to give a few other facts kindred to the subject.

1657.

The title under this year in the former list should be cancelled, as the imperfect copy in the Historical Library is now known to be of the London edition.

1660.

A Brief | Catechisme | Containing | the Doctrine | of Godlines, | or | of Living vnto God. | — | By John Norton, | Teacher of the Church at | Boston in New-England. | — || Cambridg | Printed by S. G. and M. J. | New-England. | 1660. 16mo. pp. 3-22.

Titlepage wanting ; 3-22, "The Doctrine of Godliness," headline a line of ten border pieces, and an ornamented initial letter "W" at the beginning.

I am indebted to Mr. Wilberforce Eames for the complete title, which is taken from a copy in the Lenox Library.

1662.

Propositions | concerning the | Subject of Baptism | and | Consociation of Chvrches, | Collected and Confirmed out of the Word of God, | By a | Synod of Elders | and | Messengers of the Churches | in Massachusetts-Colony in New-England. | Assembled at Boston, according to Appointment of the | Honoured General Covrt, | In the Year 1662. | — | At a General Covrt held at Boston in New-England the 8th. of October, 1662. | The Court having Read over this Result of the Synod, judge meet to | Commend the same unto the Consideration of all the Churches and | People of this Jurisdiction ; And for that end doe Order the Printing | thereof. | By the Court. Edward Rawson Secret'. | — || Cambridge : Printed by S. G. for Hezekiah Vsher at Boston in | New-England. 1662. 12mo. pp. (14), 24.

Titlepage wanting ; 14 pp. "The Preface to the Christian Reader, and especially to the Churches of Massachusetts-Colony in New-England," running headlines ; 1-24, "The Answer of the Elders and other Messengers of the Churches, Assembled at Boston in the Year 1662. To the Questions Propounded to them by order of the Honoured General Court," headpiece four lines of border pieces with a vertical line of similar pieces at each end ; pages 25-32 wanting.

This title, copied from one in the Prince Library, takes the place of the whole entry under the year 1662 in the former list. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia* (Book IV. p. 77), says that the pamphlet "was chiefly of his [Jonathan Mitchel's] composure"; and allusions to it are found in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates* (I. 155), the *Brinley Catalogue* (I. 174), and *Sabin's Dictionary* (XII. 245), No. 49,662, and (XV. 554, 555), No. 66,059.

1680.

A | Platform | of | Church-Discipline | Gathered out of | the Word of
God ; | And Agreed upon by the | Elders and Messengers | of the
Churches Assembled in the | Synod. | At Cambridge in N. E. |
To be presented to the Churches & General Court | for their
Consideration and Acceptance in | the Lord, the 8th. Moneth,
Anno. 1649. | — | [Two lines from Psalms lxxxiv. 1 ; two from
xxvi. 8 ; and five from xxvii. 4.] | — || Boston : Printed by
John Foster. 1680. 16mo. pp. (23), 64.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank ; 21 pp. "The Preface," headpiece a line of border pieces, with a raised query mark after the eighth and ninth pieces, and a long rule below, running headline same words ; 1 p. blank ; 1-64, text, headpiece a line of border pieces like the first, with an *Italic* colon after the seventh piece, various headlines ; 3 pp. Table of Contents, wanting.

This book begins with the last three leaves of signature E, and once formed the second part of a volume in which the first part was "A Confession of Faith," etc. See *Sabin's Dictionary* (XV. 189), No. 63, 334.

1684.

The | Doctrine | of Divine | Providence, | opened and applyed : | ... |
By Increase Mather. | [etc.] 16mo. pp. (8), 148. [Followed by]
A | Sermon | ... | By Mr. Nathaniel Mather. | [etc.] pp. (1), 26.

This copy is one of the two mentioned in the former list, and probably is an earlier impression than the other. Some instances of the variations are as follows: "The Contents," which appears at the end of Nathaniel Mather's sermon, here follows "To the Reader" and takes the place of the blank page near the beginning of Increase Mather's sermon ; the rule at the top of page 82 is taken out ; the headline on page 83 "to the judgments of God" is here changed to "Sins of Omission expose men," and the same change occurs on page 88 ; the

headlines of other pages 90, 91, 94, and 95 are transposed; page 53 of the first part has the signature letter "E3" instead of the second "E2" in the other copy, and on page 25 of the second part the signature letter is taken out; only a stub remains on pages 27 and 28, showing three letters, and a part of the next leaf of "Advertisements," with only three border pieces of the upper line.

A | Monumental | Memorial | of | Marine | Mercy | being | An Ac-
knowledge of an High Hand of | Divine Deliverance on the
Deep | in the Time of distress, | in | A Late Voyage from Boston
in New-England | To London, Anno 1683. | — | In a Poem. By
Richard Steere. | — | To which is added Another Occasioned by
Several | Remarkable Passages happening at the Birth | of a Male
Child on Board the same Ship | in her Voyage Returning 1684. |
— | By the same Author then a Passenger. | — || Printed at
Boston in New-England by | Richard Pierce for James Cowse
Stationer | Anno 1684. 16mo. pp. (4), 12.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," ending with a rude cut ($3 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches), covering more than a half of the page, representing a winged figure moving to the right in the clouds with her face turned toward the front and her right hand pointing upward, probably a constellation, and showing three unknown characters at the left, headpiece two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, both parted in the middle by a vertical line of three stars, headline on second page same as beginning; 1-10, "A Monvmental Memorial of Marine Mercy &c.," in verse, ending with a rude cut (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square), representing a ship under full sail driven before a gale, headpiece two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, with a query mark in the middle of each line, the upper one inverted; 11, 12, "A Poem occasionally written on Some Remarkables hap'ning at the Birth of the Son of Thomas and Sarah Wallis upon the Atlantick or Western Ocean, July the 26 1684," signed "Richard Steere."

1686.

A Brief | Discourse | of | Justification. | Wherein | This Doctrine is
plainly laid down ac- | cording to the Scriptures: | As it was De-
livered in several Ser- | mons on this Subject. | — | By Samuel
Willard, Teacher of a Church | in Boston. | — | [Five lines from
Phil. iii. 9; and six lines of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by S: G.
for Samuel Phillips | at the West-end of the Town house. 1686.
16mo. pp. (5), 168.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 3 pp. "To the Reader," signed "S. Willard," headpiece a line of seventeen border pieces, with a query mark after

the twelfth, a line in parts underneath, and another line of seventeen border pieces inverted, with a query mark after the ninth, headlines same words as at beginning, catch-words on the third page "Phil. 3. 9."; 1 p. blank; 1-168, text, beginning with "Phillippians III. IX," headpiece similar to the first, although with slight variations, running headlines, "A Brief Discourse," and "of Justification," having the word "brief" on twenty pages, the first on page 22 and the last on page 168, and on the last page "A brief Discourse &c."; has "28" for 128, and "247" for 147; first leaf of book wanting; bound in the original sheep.

Our Dying Saviour's | Legacy of Peace | To His Disciples in a
troublesome | World, from John 14. 27. | My Peace I give unto
you, &c. | — | Also a | Discourse | On the Two Witnesses: |
Shewing that it is the Duty of all Christians | to be Witnesses
unto Christ, from Rev. 11. 3. | I will give to my two Witnesses,
&c: | Unto which is added, | Some Help to Self-Examination.
| — | By John Higginson Pastor of the Church in | Salem | — |
[Four lines from 2 Peter i. 14, 15.] | — || Boston, Printed by
Samuel Green for John | Usher near the Town-House, 1686.
16mo. pp. (13), 205, (1).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 7 pp. "To the Church and People of God at Salem; also at Guilford and Say Brook: Grace unto you, and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ," signed by "John Higginson," and dated at Salem, August 6, 1686, headpiece a line of seventeen border pieces, a rule in parts, and a line of similar border pieces inverted, headlines "To the Reader"; 1 p. blank; 3 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "of him who is a Well-wisher to Israels Peace. Samuel Willard," headpiece similar to the first one, same headline continued; 1 p. blank; 1-131, text, beginning "John 14. 27," headpiece similar to the first, various headlines; 1 p. blank; 133-185, text, beginning "Revelations II. III.," headpiece like the first, various headlines: 1 p. blank; 183 [187]-205, "Some Help to Self-Examination, Which I drew up for my Self, in the Year 1652. But may be of like use to any, that shall peruse the same; with Meditation and Self Application, and earnest Prayer, as Psal. 139. 23, 24," headpiece a line of seventeen border pieces with a query mark after the ninth, headline "Self-Examination"; 1 p. blank; 1 p. "Advertisement" between two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted.

This volume was given by our associate Col. Thomas W. Higginson, on May 14, 1896, and is mentioned in the Proceedings (second series, XI. 19-22) of that date. The title-page and the two following leaves, as well as page 205, were

photo-electrotyped by the Suffolk Engraving Company from another copy owned by him. The plate for the "Advertisement" at the end was made by the same process after a tracing from a copy in the Prince Library. By means of these plates the missing pages in the book were reproduced in facsimile on old paper, and inserted in the volume; and the collation is made from the copy thus completed.

1689.

[A List of *Errata*, by Cotton Mather. 1689.] 16mo. 1 p.

A line of seventeen border pieces; heading in three lines, "The Reader is desired (with his Penn) to Correct the following Errata"; nine lines of *errata* referring to "Early Piety"; six lines relating to the "Several Sermons"; a line of seventeen border pieces like those at the top inverted.

This List, evidently printed in Boston, and probably by Samuel Green, is found pasted on the inside of the cover at the end of two bound tracts by Cotton Mather, which were published in London in 1689. The first tract is entitled: "Early Piety, Exemplified in the Life and Death of Mr. Nathanael Mather," etc.; and the other: "Several Sermons Concerning Walking with God," etc. The wording of the titlepage at the beginning of the book shows that the two tracts were intended to go together in the same volume.

The People's | Right to Election | Or Alteration of Government in
Connecticott, | Argued | In a Letter; | By Gershom Bulkeley
Esq; one of their Majesties Justices of the peace | In the County
of Hartford. | Together with a Letter to the said Bulkeley, | from
a Friend of his in the Bay. | To which is added, The Writing
delivered to James Russell of Charlestown | Esq; warning him
and others concerned, not to meet to Hold a Court | at Cambridge,
within the county of Middlesex. | By Thomas Greaves Esq;
Judge of their Majesties Inferior Court of Pleas | and one of their
Majesties Justices of the peace within the said County | And also
his Answer to Mr. Broadstreete and the Gentlemen mett at the |
Town-house in Boston concerning the same. | Published for the
Information & Satisfaction of their Majesties loyall | (but abused)
Subjects in New-England. | — || Philadelphia, Printed by As-
signes of William Bradford, Anno 1689. No titlepage. 16mo.
pp. 18.

Half title, filling most of page 1; 1-13, "To the honourable Robert Treat Esq; and to the Worshipfull James Bishop, William Jones & James Fitch, and other the Worshipful Justices of the severall Counties: and any other whom it may concern, assembling at Hartford: To advise concerning Holding of a Court of Election by Virtue of and according to the late Patent," signed "Gershom Bulkeley," on May 8, 1689; 13-17, "A Letter to Gershom Bulkeley Esq; (one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the County of Hartford) from a friend in the Bay"; 17, "The Writeing Delivered to James Russell of Charlestowne Esq; by Thomas Graves Esq; Judge of their Majesties Inferiour Court of pleas, and one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace, within the County of Middlesex," and addressed "To James Russell of Charlestowne Esq; to be communicated to any others that are in like manner with your self concerned herein," which is a warning not to assemble "a pretended Court of Judicature," at Cambridge, etc., dated in Charlestown, September 21, 1689; 18, "The Answer of Thomas Greaves Esq. to Mr. Broadstreete & the Gentlemen met at the Town-house in Boston concerning the aforesaid Writing," signed "Thomas Greaves."

This tract is reprinted in the first volume (pp. 57-81) of the "Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society" (Hartford, 1860); and in the second volume (pp. 85-109) of "The Andros Tracts" as given in "The Publications of the Prince Society" (Boston, 1869).

1693.

Among the *Errata* mentioned in the collation of Cotton Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World," in the former list under 1693, is the following: "The Discourse on, *The Devil Discovered*, is wrong paged, after p. 8. (17) being put for (9)." This statement changes the paging there given in the last line of the collation to "1-32 [24]."

The following list of early broadsides, found among the Massachusetts Archives at the State House, but by no means complete, is here given as a supplement to the other titles. The volume and page of the Archives where these several broadsides appear, are indicated by Roman letters and Arabic figures within parentheses, at the end of each description. Seven of the sheets are found in Volume CCXLII. of the Archives, which is the third volume of the "Hutchinson Papers." It may be remembered that the manuscripts com-

prising these Papers, in three volumes, for many years were in the possession of the Historical Society, but were given up to the Commonwealth on the decision of an arbitrator. For full particulars of the case, see Proceedings (XIII. 217-232) for January, 1874.

1659.

An Humble Proposal, for the Inlargement of University of Learning in | New England, By the Trvstees hereafter named, to whom the Manage- | ment of this Affair is committed. Broadside.

Large illustrated letter at the beginning of the text, about two and one half inches square; an appeal to their "worthy Christian Friends in England," asking for help, saying, "That all the provision which they have towards this great Undertaking, is not sufficient, according to a very low and moderate Computation, for a twentieth part of those who are born in that Country [New England] and capable of such Improvement: So greatly hath the Lord been pleased to bless his People in those parts with increase of Children"; giving as their authority for such an appeal the act of the General Court, May 11, 1659.

(LVIII. 38.)

1667.

Boston in New-England. August 9th. 1667. | The | Governour, Deputy Governour | and sundry of the | Magistrates, | Being Assembled, do Judge meet to commend to their Beloved Brethren and Neighbours | The Inhabitants of this Colony this following Proposal. Broadside.

Two lines of border pieces at the top, the lower one inverted; after speaking of the trouble on the "Caribdee Islands, by reason of the malignity of the Common Enemy" and the lack of provisions on "his Majesties Fleet," they "commend to the Inhabitants of this Jurisdiction a present contribution to be made for the supply of his Majesties Fleet in those parts"; and appoint a committee to receive such "free Contributions"; and order that "This Act of the Magistrates is forthwith to be printed and sent accordingly to the several Towns, Boston, August 9th. 1667"; signed "Richard Bellingham Governour."

(C. 111.)

1670.

At a Council held at Boston | Septemb. 8. 1670. 16mo. 1 p.

Headpiece a line of fourteen urn-shaped border pieces and the upper half of a brace; "The Council taking into their serious Consideration the low estate of the Churches of God throughout the World" appoint September 22 as a "Day of Publick Humiliation"; signed "By the Council. Edward Rawson Secret'."

(X. 17.)

This is the earliest printed proclamation for a Fast day known to be extant, and it is supposed to be unique. For an account of this copy, see the Rev. William DeLoss Love's "Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England" (p. 433).

1673.

Boston, March 22. 167 $\frac{2}{3}$. Broadside.

Line of border pieces at the top; an order of the "Deputy-Governour and Magistrates" by "Edward Rawson Secret'., "concerning "the late Awfull Hand of God, consuming our Castle by Fire the One and twentieth of this instant," etc.; recommending "to all the Inhabitants of this Colony, that a free contribution be made for the Re-edifying of the said Castle"; saying that "The Charge of the Work propounded, we have computed to be Twelve or Fifteen hundred pounds, which we do aim at present to raise"; and ordering, "That the Committees of the Militia in the severall Towns do forthwith prosecute this Order, by taking Subscriptions . . . and make a Return of the whole unto the Major Generall, between this and the first of May next ensuing."

(LXVII. 124.)

This sheet and the three preceding ones were printed at Cambridge, without doubt by Samuel Green.

1686.

The General Courts Answer to | Joseph Dudley Esqr. &c. | This was Pas'd by the whole Court, Nemine non consentiente. Broadside.

This Answer begins: "Gentlemen, We have perused what you left with us, as a true Copy of His Majesties Commission, shewed to us the seventeenth instant: Impowring you for the Governing of His Majesties Subjects Inhabiting this Colony, and other Places therein mentioned"; gives two reasons as to "what therein might be thought hard or uneasie," — "1. That there is no certain determinate Rule for your Administration of Justice . . . 2. That the Subjects are Abridged of their Liberty as English Men"; says that "we cannot give our Assent thereto"; signed "Per Order, Edward Rawson Secr.," and dated May 20, 1686; addressed below "To Joseph Dudley Esq. And the rest of the Gentlemen Named in His Majesties Commission."

(CCXLII. 334.)

This broadside is given in the printed copy of the Colonial Records of Massachusetts Bay (V. 515, 516), edited by our late associate Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff.

1689.

At the Convention of the | Governour and Council, and Representatives
of the | Massachusetts Colony. 16mo. 1 p.

This is a declaration that "all the Laws made by the Governour and Company of said Colony, that were in Force on the twelfth day of May, One thousand six hundred eighty six (except any that are repugnant to the Laws of England) are the Laws of this Colony, and continue in Force till farther Settlement, to which all Inhabitants and Residents here are to give due Obedience"; signed "By Order of the Convention, Isaac Addington Secr.," and dated at Boston, June 22, 1689.

(CCXLII. 372.)

At the | Convention | Of the Governour and Council, and Represen-
tatives of the | Massachusetts Colony. Broadside.

This Proclamation sets apart September 19, 1689, as a Fast day on account of "the growing Difficulties of a Distressing Indian War"; signed "Isaac Addington, Secr.," and dated at Boston, September 7, 1689.

(CCXLII. 379.)

The | Declaration, | Of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of
Boston, and the | Countrey Adjacent. April 18th. 1689. [Colo-
phon] Boston Printed by Samuel Green, and Sold by Benjamin
Harris at the London Coffee-House. 1689. No titlepage. Folio.
pp. (4).

The Declaration relates to the Andros government.

(CCXLII. 363, 364.)

This paper is reprinted in the first volume (pp. 11-19) of "The Andros Tracts" as given in "The Publications of the Prince Society" (Boston, 1868), and in Neal's "History of New-England" (II. 62-70).

From a Gentleman of | Boston | To a Friend in the Countrey.
Broadside.

This letter is signed "N. N.," and was written probably in the year 1689.

(CCXLII. 333.)

This broadside is reprinted in the Proceedings (XII. 118, 119) of the Historical Society for June, 1871.

The Present State of the | New-English Affairs. | — | This is Published
to prevent False Reports | — | [At the bottom of the sheet] Bos-
ton, Printed and Sold by *Samuel Green*, 1689. Broadside.

(XXXV. 83.)

This sheet, printed in two columns, gives extracts from three letters written by Increase Mather, then in England, concerning questions of public interest and importance to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and evidently it took the place of a manuscript news-letter so common in those days. The fact is significant as showing a phase of journalistic evolution which began with the written news-letter and gradually developed into a newspaper. It was also the forerunner of "Publick Occurrences, both Forreign and Domestick" (Boston, 1690), which would have been issued monthly, if the public authorities had not interfered and suppressed the first number.

1690.

At the | General Court | Of Their Majesties Colony of the Massachu-
setts Bay in New- | England, Sitting in Boston by Adjournment.
December. | 10th. 1690. [At the bottom of the sheet] Cambridge:
Printed by Samuel Green. 1690. Broadside.

A cut of the Colonial arms; an Order of the General Court in consequence of "maintaining and defending of Their Majesties Interests against the Hostile Invasions of Their French and Indian Enemies (Who have begun and are Combined in the Prosecution of a Bloody War upon the English . . . in New-England:)" ; appointing a committee "for the granting forth of Printed Bills . . . (none under Five Shillings; nor Exceeding the Summ of Five Pounds in one Bill) . . . No more of said Bills to be Printed or Granted forth than for the Summ of Seven Thousand Pounds"; "Printed and Published by Order of the Covrt," and signed "Isaac Addington Secr."

(CCXLII. 402.)

For the reasons^a leading to the issue of these Printed Bills, see Mr. Winthrop's remarks at a meeting of this Society, which appear in the Proceedings (VI. 428) for February, 1863, where a fac-simile reproduction of one of the bills is given. This emission of paper money is said to have been the first in America.

1691.

Advertisement. 16mo. 1 p.

Two lines of border pieces at the top, the lower one inverted; relates to the Garrison at Port Royal, granting to persons the "Appropriation or sole Priviledge of the Trade and Traffick of said Ports" for five years, and giving notice to others who wish to join that they must "within the space of Three Weeks from this Date, enter their Names with Mr. James Taylor, and be admitted into the said Adventure on equal parts . . . Boston, June 5th. 1691."

(XXXVI. 111.)

By the | Gouvernour | and | Council: Broadside.

Impression of the seal of Colony cut out; a Proclamation appointing May 7, as a Fast day; signed "Isaac Addington Secr.," and dated at Boston, April 23, 1691.

(XI. 58.)

1692.

Naval Office | at | Boston, | In Their Majesties Province of Massachusetts- | Bay, in | New-England. Broadside.

A certificate in blank filled out on September 9, 1692, for the clearance of the sloop "Industrie," of Boston, Jonas Clarke, Master, bound for Rhode Island and Connecticut, having on board sugar, rum, leather, wine, salt, English goods, nails and iron ware, signed in manuscript, "Benj^a Jackson Navall officer"; with the impression of a wax seal in the upper left-hand corner.

(LXI. 330.)

1697.

Anno 1697. Broadside.

A list of the Assistants used by the General Court at the election of the new Council on May 25, 1698, divided as follows: in the first column, "Massachuset, 18," including seventeen names, and "Jn^o Appelton Esq^r" in manuscript; in the second column, "Plimouth, 4," with names, "Main, 3," giving two names, and "Jos. Hañon" in manuscript, "Zagadahock, 1" and name, "At large, 2," one name and "Maj^r Penn Townsend" in manuscript, and "Deceased this Year," three names, Charles Frost, Samuel Shrimpton, and Bartholomew Gedney; at the left of the names is the number of votes each person received indicated in manuscript, and at the right in the same way are numbers from 1 to 28 showing the relative standing; on the back is the file mark in manuscript "Wiswel 1697."

(CCXLII. 426.)

Together with this broadside is a sheet, having similar fold-marks headed "Subscription towards the Support of M^r Ichabod Wiswall's Son at the Colledge. for three years next comeing, at so much P annũ. as is set against each of our names. this. 14th of July. 1699." It is signed by thirteen of the Councillors given on the printed sheet, and by Nathaniel Byfield, John Borland, and Simeon Stoddard. Attached to the paper are several receipts from Aaron Bordman as College Steward, for payments on Wiswall's account. The allusion is to Peleg Wiswall, a graduate in the Class of 1702.

While I am on my feet I wish, also, to communicate the dates of two early Commencements at Cambridge, derived from contemporary sources, which are additional to the lists previously presented by me and printed in the Proceedings (second series, X. 194-205, 360) for May and November, 1895, and (XII. 72, 73) for December, 1897. The dates are taken from two almanacs belonging to the Hon. John Boyd Thacher, of Albany, New York; and for his courtesy in the matter I wish to acknowledge my obligations. In both instances, as seen below, they fall on the last Tuesday of July, thus confirming the theory that during this period Commencement came on that day.

1646.

According to a unique copy of the earliest known almanac printed in New England, Commencement fell on the third day of the week, July 28, which was the last Tuesday in that month.

1648.

According to the calendar in another almanac, by Samuel Danforth, which is also supposed to be unique, Commencement occurred on the third day of the week, July 25, again the last Tuesday in that month.

These two little publications were bought at the sale of Part I. of the Brinley library nearly twenty years ago, when they fetched fabulous prices for that period, though not nearly so high as they would bring to-day. The almanac for 1646 was printed by Stephen Daye, of Cambridge, the first printer

in British America, and is one of the very few specimens of his handicraft that have come down to the present time. He was also the printer of the first pamphlet published in what is now the United States, an almanac for 1639 made by William Pierce, of which no copy is supposed to be extant. Mr. Pierce was a shipmaster of some note and influence among the founders of the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, who before the year 1620 had made voyages to the Grand Banks and the New England coast.

The PRESIDENT read the following copy of a letter in relation to the memorable Graves-Cilley duel of February 24, 1838, addressed at the time the duel took place by John Quincy Adams to his son, Charles Francis Adams. His attention, he said, had been called to this letter in the course of investigations bearing upon the life of Charles Francis Adams, a memoir of whom he was preparing for the Society's printed Proceedings. The letter was evidently written by J. Q. Adams for historical purposes, being his contemporaneous statement of an extremely dramatic and distressing occurrence which caused at the time a profound sensation. J. Q. Adams was then a member of the House of Representatives, and, as such, occupied a peculiar position. Apparently he felt that it might hereafter be thought that, on this occasion, he had not taken the strong, moral stand he should have taken. He seems, therefore, to have wished to put on file an explanation of the course he pursued, and his reasons for it. Hence this letter to his son. As the letter has a distinct historical interest, but can, the President added, be of no service in any publication he is likely to make, or which is likely to be made in connection with the family papers, he contributes it to the Proceedings of the Society.

The Graves-Cilley duel is now well-nigh forgotten. It took place at the famous Bladensburg duelling-ground, near Washington, and may be regarded as one of the four memorable American duels of fatal termination. The first, of course, was the Burr-Hamilton affair of July 11, 1804; the second the Barron-Decatur of March 22, 1820; and the last the Terry-Broderick of September 16, 1859.

In recalling these four episodes, as memorable as melancholy, it is impossible not to notice what a grotesquely grim

satire they afford, taken together, on the "Code of Honor." In three out of four of the cases the precious life was lost, and the worthless, or one of little value, spared. Hamilton and Broderick died at the hands of Aaron Burr and David S. Terry! A sufficing commentary on the practical workings of the "Code." A veritable *Ilias in nuce*.

There has always been an impression that Mr. Cilley, whose death resulted from the duel, had been in point of fact murdered in a quarrel forced upon him by a Southern fire-eater. It will be seen that this is by no means the view Mr. Adams took of the matter. Briefly stated, the events leading up to the duel seem to have been somewhat as follows. Mr. Cilley, a member of Congress from Maine, had in debate in the House made certain statements which Colonel J. Watson Webb, then editor of the "New York Courier and Enquirer," took umbrage at. Colonel Webb, therefore, went on to Washington, and sent a challenge to Mr. Cilley through Mr. Graves, a member of Congress from Kentucky, acting as Webb's second. Mr. Cilley, instead of taking the position he manifestly should have taken, that he refused to be held responsible by a person from outside for words spoken on the floor of Congress, declined to accept the challenge of Colonel Webb on the ground that Colonel Webb was not "a gentleman." Under the principles of what is known as the "Code of Honor," this action on the part of the person challenged imposed upon the second of the challenger the obligation to offer himself in place of his principal. Before doing so, Mr. Graves first, however, asked Mr. Cilley to put his refusal to fight on the manifestly proper ground that, as a member of Congress, he would not be answerable for words spoken in debate, but this Mr. Cilley declined to do. A challenge was therefore sent to him by Mr. Graves, and accepted. As the challenged party, he selected rifles as the weapons. Mr. Graves, it is alleged, had never fired a rifle in his life, and was no marksman. Indeed, he is said to have been a perfect novice in the use of deadly weapons.

From the statements which have come down it would appear that Mr. Cilley was entirely responsible for what took place; though it cost him his life, and brought on Mr. Graves the censure of the House of Representatives, subsequently terminating his political career. Three shots were exchanged at

eighty yards. After the second shot Mr. Cilley was asked to state in writing what he had verbally said to Mr. Graves, to wit, that his ground for declining to receive the note of Colonel Webb was that he would not be held to account in that way for words spoken in debate. This he again declined to do, insisting upon a third exchange of shots. In this exchange he was instantly killed. Mr. Graves always insisted that the fatal shot was purely a matter of chance. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, was one of the seconds in this affair, and General Jones, of Iowa, the other, Mr. Wise acting for Mr. Graves. Long subsequently Mr. Adams, in the course of debate in the House, used unsparingly against Mr. Wise his participation in the Graves-Cilley duel; and he did so not without reason, for it would seem that in reality Mr. Wise was the party chiefly responsible for the fatal termination. There was no difficulty whatever, political or personal, between the two principals. They were fighting over a point of etiquette in "the Code." Under these circumstances Mr. Wise should, after the second exchange of shots, have insisted on the termination of the affair, and withdrawn his man. Not doing so, he became responsible for what followed; and Mr. Adams so held him.

I do not pretend to vouch for the perfect accuracy of this statement. Neither is it important. The whole occurrence is matter of history, and the letter I now submit is of value only as bearing upon it. I will merely add that, with the exception of the duel, also fatal, between Commodores Barron and Decatur, no other of the numerous Bladensburg meetings, either before or since, created an impression as painful as the Cilley-Graves duel. Looked at now through the cool perspective of sixty years, it stands out as "an affair of honor" about as foolish and senseless as it was shocking and deplorable; and while Cilley died as the fool dieth, Wise, as Mr. Adams savagely flung at him, came back into the House of Representatives with "his hands dripping with blood."

WASHINGTON, 19 March, 1838.

My Son, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Boston.

MY DEAR SON, — On Saturday, the 24th of February, on taking my seat in the House of Representatives, Mr. Potts, a member from Pennsylvania who sits immediately before me, asked me if I had heard anything of the duel — I said No — what duel? He said Mr. Cilley of Maine and Mr. Graves of Kentucky were gone out to fight with

rifles at 80 paces in consequence of Cilley's refusal to receive from Graves a challenge from James Watson Webb — I had heard nothing of it before. The attendance in the house was thin. The neutrality Bill was discussed and rejected as it had come from the Senate by yeas and nays, 76 to 87, by which it appeared that there were about 75 members absent from their Seats. There was an agitation in the house different from that which is occasioned by an irritated debate; a restless, uneasy whispering disposition, clustering into little groups with inquisitive looks, listening ears, and varying reports as one member or another went out of, or came into the Hall. At one time it was rumoured that the parties had been separated by interposition of a magistrate. At another that they had adjusted their difference on the field and returned to their respective quarters. There was a deep solicitude among the friends of Graves, who was understood not to be familiar with the use of the rifle, and an assumed appearance of confidence in the other direction, which to me foreboded no good. The House adjourned just after three, and the last words I heard, on quitting the Hall, were that Graves had been shot. On issuing from the capitol I met Joseph Blunt, who had been several days in the city, but whom I had not before seen. He spoke of having been detained that morning by business, and thereby disappointed, of attending at the great Whig festival at Baltimore, given that day, in return for that of New York, at which the Delegations from Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore had been entertained with so much magnificence in November.

I came home with feelings little adapted to any festive enjoyment. Twice in the course of the evening the rumour reached me from different quarters that Graves had been killed; but about 10 o'clock the messenger from the Capitol who came with the mail from the Post Office, brought word that Mr. Cilley had been brought home to his lodgings dead.

The first sympathies were for a widowed wife and orphan children. These were unknown to me; but I knew too well how keen must be the anguish of the wife, and how afflictive and irreparable the bereavement of the children. A question soon occurred to my mind whether the occasion did not impose upon me a special duty to perform, and if it did what that duty was. To propose and urge some action of the House to discountenance and as far as possible suppress the practice of duelling between members of Congress, was obviously the only thing that I could attempt with so much as the possibility of an useful result — but I saw at once that if I should move party Spirit would instantly seize upon the recent tragedy, and would so entangle the general question of provision for the future that the whole would end in a vapouring and counter-vapouring of Sensibilities, a very small portion of which on any side would be sincere, and the greater portion of which would tend to exas-

perate rather than to appease, would defeat all prospect of any rational action of the House upon the subject, and finally leave the practice of duelling in undisputed possession of the field.

I attended public worship the next morning at the Capitol, where the officiating person was Mr. Slicer, the Chaplain of the House. He noticed both in his prayer, and in his Sermon, the tragical event of the preceding day, with propriety and with discretion. I met there Mr. Howard of Baltimore and Mr. Whittlesey of Ohio, with whom I had some conversation as to the course which it might be proper for the House to pursue.

The next morning at the meeting of the House, Mr. Amasa J. Parker, and Mr. Robert M'Lellan, two members from the State of New York, administration men, came to my seat, and proposed to me to take an immediate stand of reprobation by the House of the fatal duel, and urged an immediate Resolution to expel from the House all the parties who had been concerned in it. I did not know who they were, nor of course whom the Resolution would strike. These gentlemen did not propose any resolution of censure upon the deceased, nor to interfere in any manner with the usual honorary testimonials of the funeral obsequies over his remains. Immediately after the reading of the Journal, Mr. Fairfield, not the eldest member of the delegation from Maine, but a member of the same party with Mr. Cilley, announced his decease, in a very proper manner, without any offensive reflection, and moved the ordinary Resolutions, of attendance the next day at the funeral, with the usual religious solemnities at the Hall, and the wearing of crape for thirty days from respect for the memory of the deceased. Not a voice was heard objecting to this course of proceeding. I had told Mr. Parker and Mr. M'Lellan, that if any vote of censure was to be expressed by the House upon the past, it must begin *then* and *there*; and that I at all events was not the proper person to take the lead in it. No one else ventured to take it. After giving to Mr. Cilley the burial of a Saint, I did not perceive the Justice, Humanity or Piety of expelling all his accomplices as felons. I received two Letters from Clergymen, full of sound anti-duelling doctrine, and earnestly persuading me to assume on this occasion the office of a great reformer, the only effect of which I thought would be to cover me with ridicule.

The funeral was on Tuesday. The Services in the Hall were a prayer by one of the Chaplains of Congress, and a funeral sermon by the other. Some of the Gentlemen of the South were offended by the severity of the preacher upon the practice of duelling. The ceremonies were performed with great and more than usual Solemnity. The attendance of members of both Houses of Congress was more numerous than I had ever witnessed on any similar occasion. The President of the United States and most of the Heads of Departments also attended.

All the galleries of the House were crowded with spectators of both sexes. But the judges of the Supreme Court declined the invitation to attend, and several of the members of the delegation from Massachusetts were absent.

Wednesday morning, immediately after the reading of the Journal, Mr. Fairfield asked leave to offer a Resolution,

“That a Committee consisting of seven members be appointed to investigate the causes which led to the death of the honorable Jonathan Cilley, late a member of this house and the circumstances connected therewith, and to report thereon to this house.

“That said Committee have power to send for persons and papers, and have leave to sit during the sessions of the House.”

This was an unequivocal party movement; not a very judicious one, as I thought; and the main object of which I did not immediately perceive. It was to turn the torrent of public indignation against Webb, the first publisher of the charge of corruption against Ruggles — against Wise who had brought the charge before the House, and against Graves who had slain Cilley, and who was believed to have been privy to the original denunciation by the Spy in Washington and to the publication of it in the New York Courier and Enquirer. The effort was to turn all this into a conspiracy to murder Cilley, and if possible to expel Wise and Graves from the House — to destroy the printing Establishment of the New York Courier and Enquirer, and to bury the charge of corruption against Ruggles in Cilley's grave.

Bell of Tennessee incautiously objected to the admission of Fairfield's Resolutions, but the Rules were suspended by a very large majority, and the Resolutions adopted after considerable debate, which became at last very acrimonious, especially between Fairfield and Evans. But Fairfield found it necessary before the question upon his Resolutions was taken to adopt a modification of them authorizing the Committee further to “inquire whether in the case alluded to, there has not been a breach of the privileges of this house, and to report thereon to this house.” This modification was suggested by Mr. Elmore of South Carolina and pressed by Boon of Indiana, and reluctantly adopted by Fairfield, to keep his party strength entire.

But after the Resolutions were adopted, and a Committee was ordered, Mathias Morris an opposition Pennsylvanian offered and carried a separate Resolution of instruction to the Committee

“to inquire into the means more effectually to suppress the practice of duelling and report a Bill for this purpose as early as is practicable.”

This had not at all entered into the purpose of Fairfield's Resolutions — and while they were under consideration Morris had offered in vain his Resolution as an amendment to them — Fairfield did not accept it — and it was cut off by the previous Question. It was however

referred as a supplementary instruction to the Committee, and may eventually defeat the primary object of expelling Wise and Graves.

The Speaker appointed a Committee of five administration and two opposition members — Toucey, Potter, Briggs, Elmore, Bruyn, Harrison and Rariden — Briggs and Harrison declined serving on the Committee and Grennell and Grantland were appointed in their places, leaving the party complexion of the Committee the same — 5 and 2.

They have not yet reported — nor has the Committee of investigation of the Senate upon the charges against Mr. Ruggles — both may yet lead to unexpected disclosures and both may terminate in expositions discreditable to more than one party.

I have hitherto every reason to confirm the propriety of my determination to take no prominent part in the movements of the House originating in these transactions. The elements not only of party rancour but of national dissensions pervade every part of them. I have committed to writing and addressed to you this narrative, as a private record of *breeding* events — by which I mean incidents far more important in their consequences than in themselves. The Career of Mr. Cilley is that of an ambitious Northern young man, struggling to rise on a Southern platform. His fate is an exemplification of what that sort of ambition may expect. He had already announced that he had no sympathies for Indians or for human beings of a darker hue; and this declaration had already brought him golden opinions from the carnation colour of the South. He seized the first possible opportunity to announce and prove himself an unerring marksman with the rifle, and to select it as his favourite weapon for settling his points of honour. The selection of his second was as intrepid as that of his instrument. All this was to display to the South and West how high he soared above the region of Yankee prejudices. A wise and just Providence, mysterious in its ways, but instructive in its doom, had ordained that his experiment should leave a monumental warning to his successors. May its lesson be understood, and not be lost!

Remarks were also made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and Messrs. HENRY F. JENKS, A. C. GOODELL, Jr., EDMUND F. SLAFTER, SAMUEL A. GREEN, THORNTON K. LOTHROP, GEORGE B. CHASE, and WILLIAM S. APPLETON.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street, the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the summer vacation.

The Corresponding Secretary said that he had received letters of acceptance from Rev. James DeNormandie, D.D., elected a Resident Member, and from John F. Jameson, Ph.D., elected a Corresponding Member at the June meeting.

The President reported from the Council the following vote, which was unanimously adopted:—

Voted: That, in arranging the furniture and decoration of the Ellis Hall in the Society's new building, the Council be directed to make special provision for the separate deposit and preservation of the papers of President Thomas Jefferson, given to the Society at its June meeting by its associate member and Vice-President, the Honorable Thomas Jefferson Coolidge; and further that, in special recognition of the value of this gift, and the gratitude of the Society therefor, a suitable record be prepared, and at the proper time inscribed on the place of deposit, indicating the character of the collection, the date of its gift, and the source whence it came.

The report on the publication of memorial editions of Bradford's History of Plymouth and Winthrop's History of New England, which had been assigned for consideration at this meeting, was then taken up; and Mr. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., said:—

When this subject last came up I was taken by surprise, and having subsequently found that part of what I said on the spur

of the moment was not fully understood, I have thought it prudent to put in writing what I now wish to say.

Those who were present at the June meeting may remember the earnestness with which I deprecated immediate action. I had been under the impression that an agreement existed by which the recommendations of the Committee were to be printed for subsequent consideration, and, moreover, so far as I could gather, there had been no actual meeting of the Committee, the report read by the Chair having been submitted to the Council less than an hour before. To adopt it under such circumstances seemed to me too summary a proceeding; nor was protracted discussion desirable in courtesy to Vice-President Coolidge, who was known to have come prepared with an important communication, the length of which could not be foreseen.

A postponement was therefore granted, and, being now in position to state my views more fully, I will mention by way of preface that, having been well acquainted with every President we have had since 1835, five in all, and intimate with several of them, I have formed the deliberate opinion that not one of his four immediate predecessors has surpassed the present incumbent in zeal for the welfare of the Society. I say this, because it may have seemed to members who attend meetings irregularly and are more or less unfamiliar with the ins and outs of this body, that I sometimes exhibit a sort of antagonism to the Chair, whereas, in point of fact, our differences are rare, and only those liable to occur between old friends interested in the same subject but looking at it from opposite points of view. In short, to make use of an expression not long ago uttered by our associate Hoar with reference to our associate Lodge, "the personal relations existing between us are of the most cordial and delightful character."

The plan under consideration was first suggested at the April meeting, and the ability with which the President has developed it cannot fail to have impressed all who then listened to him or who have since read his remarks in print, — an impression which will be deepened, I doubt not, by the more elaborate argument anticipated from him to-day. For aught I know, I was at the outset — and perhaps still am — the only member who has felt serious misgivings. Having had a good deal to do with the Society's publications for

twenty years back, and being familiar with most of its earlier ones, I have become attached — unduly attached, it may be — to the simple, time-honored, deliberate fashion in which, for considerably more than a century, we have issued historical material without flourish and without advertisement, — enabling the public to buy if it saw fit, but placing no reliance upon large returns from sales, — aiming rather at the appreciation of the student than the interest of the general reader. I shrink, I confess, from placing ourselves to a greater or less degree in the hands of publishers or booksellers, and from exchanging our sparingly illustrated volumes for what our late associate Parkman used to style “historical picture-books.”

So far from my enthusiasm having been aroused by a prospect of “monumental memorial editions, enriched by charts, maps, and fac-similes done in the highest style of art, with portraits and other pictorial matter illustrative of the text, on a scale regardless of expense within every reasonable limit,” there has somehow or other rung in my ears the recollection of very similar phrases employed from time to time by a less distinguished but equally energetic graduate of Harvard, — Mr. Moses King, — whose alluring circulars I remember to my cost. I doubt whether this is quite the sort of thing contemplated by Charles Deane; and in considering the possibility of obtaining increased circulation by new methods, I am reminded of a discussion I once had with a friend concerning what he called “the great improvement in the ‘North American Review’ effected by Thorndike Rice”, and when I contended that notoriety is no criterion of excellence, and that this periodical, as successively edited in the past by so many of our associates, afforded a more dignified and scholarly intellectual *pabulum* than the *olla podrida* which succeeded it.

Another consideration that weighs with me is the expense. The highest style of art is costly. In a conversation I had with the President early in May, he told me he had in view an outlay of fully \$10,000, but that he hoped to get most of it back; and in the report made in June he goes farther, stating that “while there should be no danger of any considerable loss, the sales might result in a favorable balance.” It is within my knowledge that persons of a good deal of experience in such matters consider this a very sanguine estimate. The price of an ordinary volume of the Society’s publications is,

to the average purchaser, \$3; but it is obvious that these exceptional volumes will have to be put at \$5, and as the report states there will probably be five, this would make the price \$25 the set. Now, we are bound in common decency, as it seems to me, to adhere to our uniform practice of distributing *gratis* among members and among a number of institutions, which distribution, together with press-copies required by publishers, would dispose of an edition of not less than 200 sets without any pecuniary return whatever.

Sales would then begin, but after the first go-off be gradual, as all our sales have been, — not one of our volumes, not even Sewall's Diary, having yet paid its expenses, — and I venture to make what may appear to some of you an extravagant, and what is undoubtedly a rather lugubrious prediction, that before we have got rid of enough of these \$25 sets to reimburse us, all present at this meeting will be in their graves. This, however, would matter little if our income were larger, but while, by the generosity of successive benefactors, and under the skilful management of the present Treasurer, our publishing-funds now much exceed, I am told, those of any learned society in this country, yet they are by no means inexhaustible, and careful discrimination has to be exercised in the selection of material. I was a good deal struck by the force of a remark made some little time ago by one of the youngest and ablest of our number, — Mr. Lawrence Lowell, — with whom Professor Hart and others are understood to be in accord, that the time has come for devoting less space to publications of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and for beginning to print selections from manuscripts of the close of the last and early part of the present centuries, — such, for instance, as the greater portion of the Jefferson Papers recently received, — and I, for one, should feel very uncomfortable if by any loss resulting from the proposed undertaking, the tilling of this later field should be retarded.

In conversation with several members of the Committee, I therefore suggested a compromise by which we should separate the contemplated reprints, begin with one, and see what the result would be. In such case we should obviously give precedence to Bradford, not merely because he came over earlier and his history is the shorter of the two, but also because the Society happens to be favorably constituted for edit-

ing it, embracing as it does Mr. Lord, who is understood to be engaged on a Life of Bradford, with such essentially suitable Plymouth men as Mr. Winslow Warren and Mr. Morton Dexter, to say nothing of the valuable aid which may reasonably be expected from the President. I am accordingly about to move that the publication of a new edition of Winthrop's New England be for the present postponed. Should this motion pass, the Society will be free to proceed with Bradford and take up Winthrop hereafter, if it sees fit. Should this motion not pass, the report is likely to be adopted, and I am thus constrained to call attention to the personal character of my objections.

The three manuscript parts of Winthrop's New England (one of which was unhappily destroyed by fire, though not until Mr. Savage had copied it) were originally included in the collection conventionally known as the Winthrop Papers, — a collection controlled for the last fifteen years by me, and previously by my father and others of my family. At the solicitation of my grandfather, the three manuscripts in question were, in 1803, given absolutely to the Society by his elder brother, Francis B. Winthrop of New York, who had removed thither the collection aforesaid. Strictly speaking, my great-uncle actually delivered but two of the parts, the third having been loaned prior to the Revolution and then lost sight of, but it turned up early in 1816. Its recovery stimulated a wish to see the whole in print, — the incomplete edition of 1790 containing numerous errors, — and it was first intended that the new publication should form part of the Society's Collections, a committee being appointed for this purpose in October, 1816. After protracted consultation, however, the plan was changed, Mr. Savage was made sole editor with authority to take out a private copyright, but, at his desire, there was informally associated with him an elder brother of my father's, the late James Bowdoin, who was becoming prominent in antiquarian pursuits.¹ The first volume of their joint labors appeared in

¹ The account of all this in our published Proceedings is meagre, but additional particulars are supplied by existing correspondence. The brothers F. B. and T. L. Winthrop consented at the outset to assume a pecuniary responsibility in case of loss, but they were unwilling to bind their heirs, and the death of the first-named put an end to the agreement. Later, a Committee of the Society, of which T. L. Winthrop was Chairman, applied to the Legislature to help along the work, and the State agreed to take three hundred and fifty copies.

1825, the second in 1826, and they were already looking forward to a revised edition when, in 1833, my uncle died, and Mr. Savage wrote:—

“I am too far advanced in life to anticipate the opportunity of ever forming so close an intimacy with any other man, in view of our constant daily intercourse for so many years, and the congeniality of our studies and pursuits, some of which may now have to be abandoned.”

When he penned these lines Savage was not quite forty-nine years old, but his anticipations were realized and he produced the edition of 1853 without assistance.¹ The Winthrop Papers had then long been divided, much the largest slice having been inherited by a kinsman of mine, whose horror of autograph-fiends was such that for nearly forty years he refused access to them even to near relatives. At the close of 1860, however, they came into my father's possession, and when selections from them began to be printed in the *Life of John Winthrop* and in volumes of our *Collections*, Mr. Savage perceived that the new material in course of accumulation would ultimately necessitate very considerable changes both in his annotation and appendix. Towards the close of his life, but before that failure of memory which began to manifest itself in his last years, he had repeated conferences with my father on this subject. The conclusion they reached was that Winthrop's *New England* in its entirety was essentially a work for historical students,—that the edition of 1853, supplemented by the later publications to which I have just referred, would answer the needs of students for a long time to come,—that it was undesirable to undertake a revised edition until all sources of information should be exhausted, and that the work should eventually be intrusted to some exceptionally competent and careful man, who would do it leisurely and thoroughly, making it, as Mr. Savage had done, a labor of love. They were full in the faith that additional letters, bearing directly upon the subject, would come to light in unexpected quarters, more particularly some of those which Governor Winthrop is known to have written to influential persons in England de-

¹ It is noticeable that nine years intervened between his appointment to a Committee on Winthrop's *New England* in 1816 and his publication of the first volume of that work in 1825. While it is not to be inferred that he was unremittingly engaged upon it during this long period, yet it undoubtedly constituted his chief occupation, except during his absence in Europe.

scribing the condition and needs of the Colony, and although these expectations have as yet been only partially realized, there is good reason not to despair of further acquisitions.¹

I would not, however, be understood as contending that we should wait indefinitely for further material for a revised appendix, but what I do contend is that it is a mistake to push this reprint at present, when, taking into careful consideration *age, health, and other occupations*, there is, in my judgment, no one in the Society who is pre-eminently fitted to be the Savage of a third edition, though I am confident that sooner or later the right man will turn up. The President honestly believes that I unnecessarily exaggerate the difficulties of the undertaking and the length of time required to bring it to a successful issue. This is, of course, a matter of opinion, and it would serve no useful purpose if I devoted more of a short October afternoon to an endeavor to explain how I think the book ought or ought not to be edited, and precisely what sort of person ought to be intrusted with it. This last is a delicate subject, and however guardedly one may word reservations, there is always a danger of their being misconstrued. It would not be fair to represent the view I take as involving a particle of disparagement. No one has a fuller and heartier appreciation than I of the value of the editorial work in connection with early New England history which has been done by the President of this Society and by a number of its members. No one is more sensible than I that others of our associates might, could they spare time enough, equally distinguish themselves in the same line. When I was asked at the outset whether I would be one of the proposed Committee, I thought the matter over and decided that, in view of my very uncertain health in my old age, and in view of occupations which have a prior claim upon me, I could not render in such a capacity what would be — to myself, at least — a satisfying service. I felt more or less similarly about others. I thought, and still think,

¹ In this connection it is worth mentioning that when our late associate James Russell Lowell was last abroad, he was shown a long letter from Governor Winthrop just discovered in a country-house in the west of England. The difficulty of the handwriting prevented Mr. Lowell from taking a copy, but he read enough to perceive its importance, and was promised a photograph of it. By a most unlucky chance, the owner of the manuscript and his only son both died soon after, and in the confusion which resulted the letter was mislaid, and, in spite of repeated searches, has not yet reappeared.

that we need for this purpose not merely a man of physical and intellectual vigor, of thorough acquaintance with the subject, but also of considerable leisure, whose attention would not be liable to be distracted by objects and interests of a different nature.

In conclusion, as action was postponed last June upon my motion, and as, owing to the summer vacation, three months have now intervened, I should be sorry to be suspected of having button-holed members in the dog-days in order to expound my side of this controversy. So far from it, with the exception of correcting in the mind of Mr. Lothrop a misapprehension with regard to a matter of fact, I have given the subject a wide berth, and am, so far as I know, fighting the battle this afternoon single-handed, having against me not only the deservedly great authority of the President, but, ostensibly, the entire Council. I say ostensibly, because I entertain a hope that some of them may not have closely examined the scheme, and that others may not be wholly eager for it. Be this as it may, my own position lies in a nutshell. In view of the facts I have outlined, — to say nothing of others upon which I might have enlarged, had I seen fit, — I consider that, as the representative of the donor and of those immediately concerned in earlier editions, I am fairly entitled to protest against a new edition being undertaken without my assent, which assent I am as yet unwilling to give. On the other hand, I do not ask for postponement as a matter of favor. If it shall seem to a majority of members present that my claim is untenable and even presumptuous, they are welcome to override me, in which case, while I shall undoubtedly feel somewhat aggrieved, I have not the smallest intention of ventilating such a grievance in an unbecoming manner.

I move, Sir, that the publication of a new edition of Winthrop's New England be for the present postponed.

At the request of the President, the senior Vice-President, Dr. Samuel A. Green, took the chair. Mr. ADAMS then said: —

I have not come here prepared to make any argument in support of the proposition submitted by the Council. It has been fully, and in my judgment sufficiently, explained in the report printed in full in the Society's Proceedings, a copy

of which has been sent to, and, presumably, read by every member present. I shall not, therefore, now reiterate what has there been said. Massachusetts, and Massachusetts alone among political communities, so far as I know, has two extraordinary contemporaneous records, — her *Genesis* and her *Exodus*, — written down almost day by day as she first went out, by the two men who largely guided that going out. Ours is the Massachusetts Historical Society; and upon our Society the mere existence of those records, in my judgment, imposes an obligation, — an obligation emphasized by the custody of one of them. The only question, as I see it, is whether we will recognize and fulfil that obligation.

Take the case of Winthrop's history, to which our friend has more particularly referred, and upon which he makes such a special point. The Winthrop is our property, — the manuscript of it, or so much of that manuscript as is left, is our most precious possession. How it came to be so Mr. Winthrop has just explained. There have been three editions of the Winthrop published, — the Hartford edition of 1790; then, thirty-five years later, in 1825, Mr. Savage's first annotated edition; and, finally, in 1853, his more fully annotated second edition. In preparing these editions, Mr. Savage really represented our Society; his work was its work. In all but the name, he was its committee. On this point the record is clear; for the Society will remember that the last portion of Winthrop's manuscript was found, in 1816, "buried beneath a mass of pamphlets and papers" of the Prince collection, in the belfry of the Old South meeting-house; the first two parts, given to this Society in 1803, and previously loaned to both Governor Trumbull and Dr. Belknap, had long been in print. The newly discovered portion was likewise deposited with us, and it was at once proposed to publish the whole as part of our "Collections," just as Hubbard's *History* was published at about that same time. The matter was, in fact, actually referred to the Publishing Committee of that year. But Mr. Savage then, with characteristic zeal, took the work in hand, and, at the August meeting of 1816, reported the progress he had already made, receiving the formal thanks of the Society for "this great and valuable service." He with two others, Judge John Davis and Dr. Abiel Holmes, were then appointed as a special committee "to consider and report on the printing

of an entire edition of Winthrop's Journal." This was more than fourscore years ago; and the Society as then constituted thus recognized its obligation. At the next meeting Dr. Holmes reported in part from this Committee, recommending "the issuing of proposals for an edition" of the Journal as a whole. Nothing further then came of the matter, for the undertaking seems to have been thought — probably was — beyond the very limited resources of the Society; but in 1824 another Committee was appointed "to apply to the Legislature for assistance" in the proposed publication. Mr. Savage was a member of this Committee, and the first volume of the earlier of the two editions annotated by him was published only a year later, in 1825, and the second volume in 1826. His next, and last, edition was published in 1853, he then being President of our Society.

Thus thirty-five years elapsed between the first and second editions of Winthrop; and twenty-eight between the second edition and the third. Since the third was published, forty-five years, almost half a century, have already passed. For more than twenty of these forty-five years, the book — the first classic of Massachusetts — has been out of print. To-day, as for years past, if any collector, any scholar, — yes! any public library even, wishes to obtain a copy of Winthrop's history, the book of the Massachusetts Exodus, — and what public library, at least, should be without it! — he must go to a dealer and wait patiently until a second-hand copy turns up. For years a score, the publishers have not had a copy on their shelves. I hold that this is not creditable; — that, on the contrary, it is altogether discreditable; and that in this respect we, both as the Massachusetts Historical Society and the custodians of Winthrop's manuscript, are not showing a proper sense of our obligations. In my estimation, it is, so far as we are concerned, a case of flagrant delinquency.

So, also, of the Bradford. That we published as a volume of our Collections. This was more than forty years ago, and in so doing we then did show a prompt and proper sense of our obligations, — that, and nothing more. As soon as the lost manuscript was surely located in the Fulham library, we caused it to be copied, as we ought to have done, and of it we at once published an annotated edition, as, in view of our name, it was, I consider, our bounden duty to do.

In the light of this record, the present proposition explains itself. It is simply that we again proceed, as was recommended by the Committee of 1816, to issue "proposals for an edition," and — as a Society — forthwith to bring out in uniform shape these two great historical works; an edition, as set forth in the report of the Council, at once memorial and monumental.

Mr. Winthrop, quoting the late Francis Parkman in that connection, refers to the project as another undertaking in the line of what he terms "pictorial" history, or "historical picture-books," as I think he somewhat contemptuously described them, and, as such, unworthy of this Society. I shall not waste time over that suggestion. There are picture-books and picture-books, as there are histories and histories. While a poor or sensational picture-book, like a certain description of history, is an unworthy and discreditable thing, I cannot think that finely executed portraits of the characters mentioned, reproductions of contemporaneous maps and charts, and well executed facsimiles of important documents, in any way detract from the value of historical publications, or are derogatory to editors, whether individuals or societies. When his widow, thoughtfully devising some lasting memorial to her dead husband, published the superb illustrated edition of the late J. R. Green's "Short History of the English People," it never occurred to me, as I admiringly turned over its pathetic pages, that her so doing was in any way open to derisive criticism. I then thought — I still think — that, in thus also making it memorial, she added greatly to the value as well as the interest of a monumental historical work. I would do the same now, as the report before you recommends, by Bradford and Winthrop, in connection with James Savage and Charles Deane.

But Mr. Winthrop also urges the difficulty of the undertaking, — that we have no one competent to do the work of editing. I differ from him entirely, and in both respects. In the first place I hold that the work of editing Bradford and Winthrop is not difficult, — not nearly so difficult, for instance, as that of editing works of a similar character relating to subsequent and less studied periods. And in this matter I claim to speak with a degree of authority, as having myself, for the Prince Society, edited the "New English Canaan" and Welde's "Short Story." Those pub-

lications related to two of the most difficult and obscure incidents in the settlement of Massachusetts, — the prehistoric colonization promoted by Sir Ferdinand Gorges, and the subsequent Antinomian controversy. I well remember that my predecessor, as President of our Society, alluded to my edition of the "New Canaan" as the exhumation of a long-buried and wholly forgotten historical deposit. That work I found, as at the time I stated, most fascinating; and it was most fascinating largely because the period to which it related had been subjected by others — generally specialists or local authorities — to such microscopic investigation. Everything, somewhere and by somebody, had been laid bare. And this can be said of no other period of our history. This microscopic investigation has also been almost wholly the work of the last fifty years, — the years that have elapsed since Savage edited Winthrop, and Bradford was discovered. Since then works of all the contemporaneous writers have been edited by men making a special study of each; and every one of the original towns and early churches of Massachusetts has had its quarter-millennial celebration and its local historian. Even so long ago as when Palfrey wrote, he had before him Savage's last edition of Winthrop and Deane's Bradford. What I, therefore, want the Society to do is to collect these scattered rays of slowly accumulated historical light, and concentrate them in one broad stream on the pages of the two original authorities. Every one who has of late years had occasion to consult those authorities, knows that the notes of Savage need practically to be recast and rewritten; those of Deane need to be revised and enlarged. And let me again, in this connection, refer to my own investigations for purposes of illustration. Some here perhaps remember a paper I years ago read to the Society relating to Sir Christopher Gardiner, — a forgotten, almost unnoticed character, who appears mysteriously in the records of both Winthrop and Bradford. Those who do recall that paper will also remember the strange piece of work made by both Savage and Palfrey in relation to Gardiner, and the blunders into which they both fell in what they said of him. In almost no respect were they correct in their statements. This is only one example among many. These mistakes, whether of omission or commission, need now to be set right; but the new lights are scattered

everywhere, and almost inaccessible, — in well-nigh innumerable town records, in monographs, in municipal histories, in funeral and occasional discourses, in biographies, and in the proceedings of local historical societies. The general reader or historical investigator who now consults Winthrop or Bradford cannot possibly stop to look these things up; and without reference to them the annals are only partially intelligible. I submit, then, that, in the first place, it is our special function to concentrate this light; and, in the second place, that so doing is not difficult. There are, I believe, twenty men in Massachusetts, and at least a dozen in this Society, in every way qualified for the task. It only remains for us to set them to work upon it.

But it is again argued that the date suggested for publication is too near, — that it would involve hasty work, and that hasty work is bad and inaccurate work. But what is that work? I want to emphasize the fact that here we are not opening a path, — this now proposed is not pioneering. Quite the reverse. We only propose to follow in the well-worn steps of two such skilled and thorough investigators as Savage and Deane. They were pioneers; they did break out a path. And how long did they take in doing it? — Resuming his editorial work on his return from a visit to Europe in 1823, Savage published the first volume of his edition of Winthrop in 1825, and the second in 1826. Charles Deane did even better than that, — perhaps I might say more hasty work than that. He has left on record the fact that the manuscript copy of Bradford came into his hands on the 3d of August, 1855, and the preface to his annotated edition bore date April 16, 1856. Eight months and twelve days sufficed then to do that work for the mere revision of which four times the space is now pronounced dangerously short. Have we indeed so far degenerated!

It is next urged that we should, adhering to our custom, print for ourselves, avoiding, as undignified, as in some way compromising, all dealings with publishers and book agents. I confess I wholly fail to see anything compromising or undignified, whether for a society or an individual editor, in leaving the work of publishing to a professional publisher. In the case proposed we are neither printing the dry, raw material of history, nor are we venturing on an untried ex-

periment. We are printing and reprinting our own material, — doing it for the general use of readers, scholars, and investigators, and doing it, as we did it before, through a publisher. For it was through a publisher that Mr. Savage in 1825, and again in 1853, brought out his editions of Winthrop; and turning to the titlepage of Deane's Bradford, I find the following imprimatur, "Boston: Published for the Society, by Little, Brown & Co." That was two-and-forty years ago. What else, I ask, is proposed now?

Mr. Winthrop has then alluded to the well-known obligations the Society is under to the family he now represents for the gift of manuscripts, and suggests that, at least as respects a new edition of Winthrop at this time, his wishes should be respected. No one is less disposed than I to make light of the value of the Winthrops, either to New England or to the Massachusetts Historical Society. I well remember, though I cannot say I went altogether with him, once hearing the late Dr. Ellis suggest that our Society might even appropriately have been designated "The Winthrop Historical Society of Massachusetts," instead of by the name we bear. Nevertheless, in this matter it seems to me our associate carries the principle of family proprietorship to its extreme limit. There must somewhere be an historical statute of limitations applicable even to descendants; and to John Winthrop — dying two centuries and a half ago — I submit this statute applies, however liberal its term may be. Even, also, admitting that the manuscript of John Winthrop's history came to us through the family of his representative descendant here, that manuscript was in print more than thirty years before we first published it, and the copyright of the notes even of the last of our editions expired nearly a generation ago. It is public property. Any book-seller is, therefore, now free to bring out a new edition of Winthrop, with any kind of notes by any sort of an editor, as a mere business venture; and, if we persist in ignoring our obligations, I am obliged to say I think that some publisher will be justified in doing it. If, as I believe, a public demand exists, it will not much longer remain unsatisfied, whether we satisfy it, or leave the work of satisfying it to others.

Into the financial details of the proposed undertaking I do not propose to enter. It would be tedious so to do. They

were carefully gone into with experienced publishers by the Committee of the Society having that aspect of the matter in charge, and their conclusions are set forth in the report now under consideration. Of course, it goes without saying that everything of the sort involves some financial risk. If we wait for a certainty in this respect, we will wait forever. I can only say, in this case, the Committee felt satisfied that, in the sense of obligation met, and in the result of prestige to be secured, it would be advisable for our Society to go forward in the project, even at the total loss of all the money the proposed editions were estimated to cost; while, on the other hand, there was good reason to believe that in the year 1900 collectors, students, and public libraries could be depended on to absorb an edition of Winthrop at least as quickly as they had absorbed one in 1853. They did it then; why not now? Above all, it is to be remembered that the proposed editions would, from their high standard and completeness, supersede all other and previous editions, whether private or public; for it is a fact, as well ascertained as it is noticeable, that, in rare books as well as in other things that are rare, the modern purchaser, and most of all the modern American purchaser, wants always the best. That only survives; and, regardless almost of price, is always sought for.

In closing I have only further to say that this is a matter in which, as President of the Society, and consequently to a certain extent responsible for its policy, I feel a very considerable interest. Our Society, I confess, has seemed to me of late to show a tendency towards living on its past, — a tendency unpleasantly suggestive of decadence. With societies no more than with individuals, do I believe in living on the past. The purpose — the object and the end — for which our Society was originally created has either been fulfilled or has passed away. It was designed to be a species of catch-basin of historical material, — a reservoir into which all sorts of records and memorials, otherwise likely to perish, would naturally drift, and there be preserved. How well that function has been performed our collections show. But that work is done. If to-morrow we, as an organization, ceased to exist, almost innumerable other organizations of a like nature, but younger, would perform the function we were created to perform. Provided we did not carry our collections out of existence with

us, we would hardly be missed. Societies, placed as our great good fortune and the labors of those gone before have placed us, incline always to routine and inertia. They fall insensibly into ruts, and grow to misconceive things; sometimes even wandering so far from a just appreciation of realities as to mistake dulness for sobriety, and inutility for dignity. This we have thus far in great measure escaped, thanks largely to my predecessors in office; and it would be to me a source of profound regret were I to observe, or think I observed, a tendency in that direction while, by your favor, I occupy the position I now do. But, I submit, if it would avoid this danger, our Society, no more than other societies, can afford to sit down in a spirit of self-complacent content, wrapt in the contemplation of its own dignity; nor is it enough for it to give evidence of a continued existence by periodically emitting additions to the already unduly large accumulations of what is commonly known as the raw material of history. Any society, any individual, can do that. To really justify a continued existence for a Society like ours, new fields of activity and usefulness must, I submit, ever be found, — new and higher standards of scholarship and investigation striven for. I want to see something attempted in that direction now, in logical development of what we have heretofore done. But as on this aspect of the situation I propose hereafter, and at no remote day, to express my views more fully, I will not further dilate upon it now. Suffice it to say that, so far as the Council is concerned, the scheme under consideration has been well considered; and it only remains for me to express the regret I am confident others here feel as well as I, at the line of conduct our friend Mr. Winthrop has, after full consideration I know, and for reasons which seem to him conclusive, felt it incumbent upon him to pursue. I will confess I had originally hoped he would enter with zeal into the scheme, for he is in many respects, and those the most essential, peculiarly qualified to co-operate in carrying it out. And to my mind there would have been a peculiar propriety in associating his name with that of his great ancestor in a work which, while it could hardly have failed to redound greatly to the prestige of our Society, would also have stood as a permanent historical monument, not only of the founders of Massachusetts, and of eminent workers of our number now gone, but of the Massachusetts

skill, scholarship, and thorough historical investigation of our own day and generation.

Mr. HORACE E. SCUDDER said that he regretted that the proposal to publish had taken the form recommended by the Council. For his part, he was unreservedly in favor of the reissue of both works, with suitable annotation, but he thought there was an objection to departing from the long-established form and manner of publication used by the Society. Its function as a publishing agency was clearly defined, and differentiated from that of commercial publishers. It had honorably discharged this function by the free publication of its Proceedings and the several volumes of its Collections. If it stepped aside from this policy and allied itself with any publishing-house for the purpose of appealing to the general public with a sumptuous edition of either work, it would embarrass itself. Such an experiment was a costly one, and in order to recoup itself by sales, it would be necessary to adopt the measures of a publishing-house, to adjust its own notions of form and embellishment to those of the publisher, and to accept the publisher's mode, it might be, of a personal canvass. At all events, by the publication of these histories in a "monumental" form, it was making a direct bid for popular sale, and he would remind the Society that, inasmuch as it must scrupulously publish the volumes in their entirety, it must stand the consequences of asking the public to buy what it could not properly ask the general reader to read. He hoped the Society would republish the histories and distribute them in their customary manner, and that ultimately certain portions, especially of Bradford, might become the common property of the general public through use in schools.

Professor HART spoke substantially as follows: —

Mr. President, — We have heard to-day the expression of views from several different standpoints upon this question of publication. We have listened to the divergent opinions of investigators; we have had some intimation of the standpoint of the publishers; perhaps there is room for some suggestion from the point of view of a teacher, who desires to have the greatest sources of our national history made available for the student.

The Massachusetts Historical Society and its members are not shut in to any one form of publication, and habitually make use of at least three, — the publication of texts; the publication of texts with elaborate notes; and the publication of secondary works. Is it necessary that the learning of the Society should be confined to any one of these forms? Our President has himself several times chosen to put the results of his discriminating labors into the form of systematic secondary works. It is, to be sure, not the practice of the Society itself to publish such results of study, even of its own members; but perhaps it might be worth considering whether monographs might not be also a suitable form for the activities of the Society. The second form of publication is one in which the Society has won great and deserved distinction, the issuance of authentic texts embellished and enlarged for scholarly ends. This is the form in which the previous editions of Bradford and Winthrop have been put forth by this Society, but this is a long, expensive, and difficult process which involves the labor of the most competent members of the Society for a period of years at a time.

No one can fail to be grateful for the labors of our predecessors in this regard, but there is a simpler method which might perhaps be adopted without tying up the publication funds, and, what is more important, without mortgaging the intellectual income of the Society, its power for historical work for some time to come. The publication of the Bradford and Winthrop histories in an authentic text and exact transcription would be in itself a great service. I have a keen interest in both these works; I have read them, excerpted from them, and tried to make them available to others, but I am constrained to admit that I do not own the Winthrop, because I never felt that I could afford to pay the price now asked for the Savage edition. I have Bradford in the official Massachusetts edition, but I did not buy it; it came through the courtesy of a member of the Legislature. Would it not be possible for this Society to publish these texts for the present without notes, so as to furnish a standard edition which can be bought at a low price by libraries and especially by students? Can we not trust our successors to furnish the apparatus of learning necessary to make these two authors plain?

One argument for the plan of the Council is undoubtedly

very strong: these two works are not the peculiar property or pride of Massachusetts; they are American classics. Massachusetts has the peculiar honor of having given the opportunity for the writing of these two works; and the Massachusetts Historical Society has the duty of issuing, as the result of the highest scholarship, authentic texts of books which are the gift of the Commonwealth to the nation. The real question is, how far it is desirable for the Society to engage its funds and its time for issuing in a new and elaborate form works of which there are already two editions. Would not the publication of the texts be sufficient for this time? If the Society continues in its accustomed path, new possibilities will arise for the publication of new manuscripts which are as yet not accessible in print.

Remarks were also made by Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D., Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, and Hon. WINSLOW WARREN; and in closing, the PRESIDENT further said that the points made by Mr. Scudder did not commend themselves to his judgment, nor, he thought, to that of the Council. Upon one matter he wished to be explicit. He did not understand Mr. Scudder to suggest an expurgated edition of Bradford or of Winthrop to be published by this Society, any more than he would be likely to suggest an expurgated edition of the Scriptures to be published by a Bible Society, or of Shakespeare by a Shakespearian Society. It was, however, the belief of the Committee that editions of one thousand copies each of Bradford and Winthrop, published in their entirety on the plan proposed, would be absorbed within a reasonable time; but, unquestionably, to effect the absorption of that number of copies, it would be necessary to bring the fact and character of the editions to the notice of public libraries, collectors, and students, — and they alone purchase works of this sort, — through the usual, well-understood publishing machinery. Now, as was proposed eighty years ago, a “prospectus” must be issued and brought to the attention of those likely to purchase copies, at once elaborate and expensive, of works like Bradford and Winthrop. This, and this only, was contemplated; and, as he thought, most properly contemplated. As to the general public, it had not been taken into consideration; to supply it

with reading matter hardly falling within the province of this Society. The scheme looked, purely and exclusively, to libraries, collectors, and students,—a much more considerable class now than in 1826 or in 1853. So far as printing the text alone of Winthrop was concerned,—that of Bradford, owing to the late publication of it by the Commonwealth, not being in question,—the President said he could only for himself express the regret he should feel at seeing the Society, now or hereafter, fall in any respect below the high standard of scholarship and investigation heretofore set for it by its representatives in the last generation,—Mr. Savage and Mr. Deane. Any editions of either or both of those two classics to which this Society set its hand and name should, he thought, be of a character in which it could feel an enduring pride.

The whole matter was then recommitted to the Council.

The President then announced the death of Samuel Eliot, LL.D., a Resident Member, who died at his summer home in Beverly, September 14, 1898,¹ and called on Rev. Dr. SLAFTER, who spoke in substance as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT,—Called upon unexpectedly, what I have to say must be desultory, brief, and incomplete. Dr. Eliot graduated at Harvard College, I think in 1839. He soon after went abroad, and passed some time in foreign travel. After he returned from Europe, he built or purchased a cottage on the borders of Brookline, and became a member of St. John's Church, Jamaica Plain, of which I was at that time the Rector. Mr. Eliot at once threw himself into the interests of the parish. He offered to give instruction to any class of young people, if there were such in the parish, who could be profited by his aid. He took charge of the music, organized a choir, played the organ, and held weekly sessions for practice and training in the music of the Church. I mention this because it was early in his career, and illustrates what was characteristic of him to the end of his life. He was always ready to do whatever lay within the sphere of his influence to improve and elevate all classes of men, morally, physically, intellectually, and religiously.

¹ Mr. Eliot was first elected into the Society March 10, 1853; and his membership terminated by his removal from the State, June 24, 1856. He was re-elected April 20, 1865, and but for the break in his membership he would have been at the time of his death the Senior Member.

Dr. Eliot appears never to have desired to enter any of the learned professions. On my first visit to him in his attractive little cottage in Brookline, he told me that he was neither rich nor poor, and that he intended to pursue no profession except that of the scholar. To this purpose he adhered. He was, I think, at that time writing his history of Liberty, which appeared first in two thick octavo, and subsequently in four octavo volumes of about four hundred pages each, the first two treating of the "Ancient Romans," the last two of the "Early Christians." Had this work first appeared to-day it would doubtless have had a much wider reading, as a vastly greater interest in historical studies has been awakened in the last forty years.

Dr. Eliot occupied numerous important official positions. He was connected with Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, for the period of eighteen years, eight years as Professor of History and Political Science, and ten years as Lecturer on Constitutional Law and Political Science, three years of which period he was President of the College. After his return to Massachusetts he was for some time Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Boston, Head Master of the Girls' High School, and a member of the School Committee. Whether he held these offices in the order of time in which I have mentioned them, I know not. In all these different official relations he discharged his duty with eminent satisfaction. I have never known a pupil who had been under his instruction, who did not speak of him as a teacher with unqualified admiration and gratitude.

Dr. Eliot was especially distinguished as a public speaker. His style was simple, direct, clear, and persuasive, with no expletives and rarely any superlatives. In the quality of his matter, in the graceful method of its presentation, in the quiet dignity of his presence, and the richness of his voice, he had, during the last years of his life, no peer in the city of Boston. I call to mind a few of the occasions when he delivered discourses which have been embalmed in print. An address before the Episcopal Charitable Society, a venerable institution, limited to a hundred members, established as early as 1724; an oration before the city authorities of Boston on the Fourth of July, 1868; a paper read before the Seventh Church Congress in Providence, Rhode Island; an address in Commemo-

ration of the Hon. William Appleton, the founder of St. Stephen's Chapel in Boston; an address at St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire; an address on the Centennial of Washington's Inauguration, delivered in Christ Church, Boston; an address at the dedicatory service of the new school building of St. Mark's School, Southborough, Massachusetts; a eulogy on the Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D.; a memorial address on Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, the founder of St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire; an address at Trinity College on his inauguration as President; "Early Relations with the Indians," a discourse in the course, at the Lowell Institute, by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. These constitute only an incomplete list of the discourses which he delivered on public occasions. Besides these public addresses, we must not fail to mention his "Biography of Montgomery Ritchie"; his "Paper on Civil Service Reform," in the publications of the American Social Science Association; and his "Manual of United States History," a bulky twelvemo, which passed through several editions.

Dr. Eliot held many important trusts. He was a trustee and member of the executive committee of the Museum of Fine Arts; president of the Boston Athenæum; president and trustee of the Massachusetts Bible Society; president of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind, and doubtless some others. With all these institutions he identified himself in a warm, unflagging, practical interest. He was a conscientious, broad-minded, large-hearted, and efficient worker in every good cause which appealed to the conservative philanthropist or the devout Christian. I fear it will be long before the place made vacant by his death can be adequately filled.

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., said:—

The services which Mr. Eliot rendered from time to time to our Society entitle him to our thanks and to grateful recollection. They indicate his interest in the study of history, which he showed through his life. At one time there seemed a promise and prospect that he would devote his whole life to these studies for the promotion of which our Society exists. It proved that his action and never-tiring eagerness to serve other men led him into vocations the demands of which cut

off his career as an historian. But the publications of his early life justify me in saying that in that change from his early plans we lost valuable work in the line he loved, — a line for which his early training gave him remarkable advantages.

He graduated at Cambridge in the class of 1839. He loved study, and he attacked each and all the subjects then studied at Cambridge with eager assiduity. In an English university he would have been said to have “gone in on both sides,” and to have won equal honors in mathematics and in the languages. He was a devoted student, he had a broad interest in all subjects which are worthy of man, and he was a pupil as much beloved by Benjamin Peirce, the head of mathematics, as he was by Felton, the professor of Greek literature, and by Longfellow, his intimate friend, at the head of the department of modern literature.

His classmates felt a certain regret that he did not enter at once on some advanced course of a literary career. But his health was such that at that time his friends feared the effects of sedentary life. He was born of a family of far-seeing men of affairs, and in the Class-book he says that he and his friends had doubted whether he should even enter college. From the Class-book it would seem that he always intended to pursue what is called a business career. Even the comparative freedom of his life in a counting-room did not wholly relieve the anxiety felt as to his health, and he left Boston in 1841 to spend the winter in Madeira for the benefit of the climate. From Madeira he went to Europe, and remained there for four years.

In Rome he conceived the idea of his “History of Liberty.” It was as Gibbon, years before, had there conceived his plan of the “History of the Decline of the Empire.” The History of Liberty, and the demonstration that as Right asserts itself in human affairs Liberty asserts herself as well, appealed to the young American’s enthusiasm. The first preface to the first two volumes of his work, “Liberty among the Romans,” shows this enthusiasm in a charming way. He made some preparatory studies for his work in Europe. On his return to America he diligently followed his plans. Two volumes, “Passages from the History of Liberty,” were published in Boston in 1847, and two more on “The Liberty of Rome” in New York in

1849. A revised edition, called "The Ancient Romans," was published in Boston in 1853. Part II. of "The History of Liberty" is "The Early Christians," also published in 1853. His own plan of this book embraced five parts. The three which were never finished were "The Papal Ages," "The Monarchical Ages," and "The American Nation."

Had Mr. Eliot lived in an older world than ours, we have every reason to suppose that he would have gone on in the plan which he thus laid out for himself. But time failed him, as he embarked on the torrent of American life, in his readiness to do the duty which came next his hand, and in the determination to do well what his service to the public demanded. In such service he established in Boston a charity school for vagrant children, he collected classes of young workingmen whom he instructed gratuitously. Trinity College at Hartford called him to be her professor of history and political science, and after four years in this service he became the president of that college. He remained in Hartford, I think, nearly ten years. He returned to Boston about 1870, and in Boston was the head master of the Girls' High School for four years, and afterwards Superintendent of the Boston public schools from 1878 for two or three years. He was an Overseer of Harvard College from 1866 to 1872, being one of the first list of Overseers chosen by the graduates under the present constitution of the college. The gentlemen whose names precede his in that list are Nathaniel Thayer, William Gray, James Freeman Clarke, and Darwin Erastus Ware, to the last of whom we owe the establishment of this admirable plan.

Mr. Eliot was made Doctor of Laws by Columbia in 1863, and by his own college in 1880. He was a Fellow of the American Academy, and from 1868 to 1872 was President of the American Social Science Association. His contributions to our Society while he was an active member were frequent and valuable, illustrating his accurate judgment and delicate taste. The most important of them was the lecture on the early relations between the Massachusetts Company and the Indians, for the course of Lowell Lectures delivered in 1869.

Such studies, however, became more and more the recreations of an active man of public spirit, who with every year of his life took new duties in the public service. Mr. Eliot became an active member of the Board of Trustees of the Massachusetts

General Hospital, of the Trustees of the State School for the Feeble-minded, of the Perkins Institution for the Blind; and to the daily work of these institutions he gave the invaluable inspiration of his life, and that careful administrative faculty which has so distinguished his family in many generations. There has been no man in Boston in the last twenty years to whom Boston has been indebted for so many services of a public character, in the amelioration of the condition of the unfortunate or in the education of the ignorant.

After a few remarks by Mr. EDWIN P. SEAVER, Mr. Henry W. Haynes was appointed to write a memoir of Mr. Eliot for publication in the Proceedings.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated some extracts from the Note-Book of Rev. John Fiske, and said:—

Some years ago I came into the possession of a Note-book kept by the Rev. John Fiske during his several pastorates at Salem, Wenham, and Chelmsford. From the time of his arrival here from England, in the year 1637, Mr. Fiske was living in Salem till about 1641, when he went to Wenham, and later became the first minister of the church gathered there on October 8, 1644. His third child, Moses (H. C. 1662), was born at Wenham on April 12, 1642, and baptized at Salem in the following June. The record of this son's birth seems to show that the father was living at Wenham two or three years before his settlement in that town as the pastor. In 1655 Mr. Fiske removed to Chelmsford, where also he was the first minister, and remained there until the day of his death on January 14, 1676-7.

The entries in the book relate almost wholly to cases of church discipline within the membership, to church meetings where theological matters were brought up and discussed, and to ecclesiastical councils held in the neighborhood, together with a sprinkling of baptisms, and names of persons admitted to the Covenant. They cover a period of time extending from the year 1637 to July 25, 1675, eighteen months before his death. In regard to genealogical or historical facts,—and these are the items most wanted to-day,—the entries are singularly meagre, and give us but little of either interest or value. The theology of those early times in New England may be as important now as then, but it is not so highly prized.

The old manuscript, however, brings down to us the details of many matters of ecclesiastical polity which in their day were deemed vital by the founders of our Puritan Commonwealth.

The pages of the book are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in dimensions, and they number 344 (or 172 leaves), of which 48 pages are blank, or nearly so. The book opens with the Covenant of the Church of Christ at Salem, which is followed by 178 names, though not autograph signatures. Owing to a bad tear through three of the leaves, and the consequent loss of a part of the writing, a portion of the text and some of the names are gone. The first twenty-five pages have been printed in the "Historical Collections of the Essex Institute" (I. 37-44) for May, 1859; and the part there given is a fair sample of the rest. This printed copy also shows what portion of the text and how many names are missing in the original manuscript. Near the beginning of the book, immediately following the Salem records, sixteen leaves have been torn out, which presumably were blank, but the stubs still remain.

The handwriting is very hard to read, and contains many abbreviations and nondescript characters which it is impossible to represent in type. At that period of time it was very common for ministers to have some knowledge of short-hand writing; and in the Note-book certain words and syllables are indicated by arbitrary signs, the same as were used in stenography. In the copy here given of certain extracts, such abbreviations and characters for the most part have been spelled out in full. When Mr. Fiske began his pastorate at Wenham, he turned the book over and made his entries at the other end of the volume, and thus continued them even during his settlement at Chelmsford.

Mr. Fiske, while at Chelmsford, prepared a Catechism (Cambridge, 1657) for the use of children, which was printed at the expense of the town. Copies of this little tract are now excessively rare, and probably not more than one or two remain in existence. A good specimen is preserved in the Lenox Library, New York. For a bibliographical description of the pamphlet, see the Proceedings (second series, IX. 411, 412) of this Society for February, 1895. At that period there were, perhaps, a dozen or fifteen other places in New England which had published similar catechisms for the religious instruction of the young. In all towns it was the custom to assemble

the children often, and, under the direction of the minister, to catechise them on matters connected with their spiritual welfare.

The following extracts from the Note-book relate to this early custom as practised in Chelmsford, which was then a fair representative town of the times. These entries throw a good deal of side-light on the bringing up of youth in those days, and they also allude incidentally to certain interesting facts connected with the publication of Mr. Fiske's Catechism. During that period, throughout New England, the education of the young in some respects may have been sombre, but it was sturdy and homespun in its fibre, and brought out the marks of manhood and womanhood.

27 of 4 [1646] concluded in the Church that the 3d. d. of week at time the laws goe forth the childrẽ to cõ forward to be catechized & to giue account of what they learnd of the s^m sab. before. to pasto's house . . .

& togethr heerewithal in the 4 place of the refusall (as we vnderstood). to disburse their pportion to the Catech. printing, wch the Ch: stands engaged to see satisfied.¹ . . .

23 of 10 58 Voted by the Church that the 33^{shs} 9^d wch the Church stood engagd to see pd to Br. James Parker for the Catechises should be for p^{snt} lent to him out of the Church stock. & if light app hraftẽ to the Church where it lies behind, to be taken in to the deacos hand on the account of the catechizes in lew of this loane if not light, then this pte of the Church stock to be here levyed in his hands as assignd to the dischrg of this debt of the Church. . . .

6 of 12 64 A Church meeting Catechizing. Agreed by the Church. that the sã course of catechizg of all under 16. yeers old. be attended at the house of the pastõ. viz. for mayds the day aftẽ the Lecture. & for youths the 2d. day of the weeke following the lecture.

It[em] That for all yong men aboue 16. yeers old, vnmarryd. That it be moved, who will voluntarily app to giue in their Names to Answr in publick. & for such as shall decline: if Children of the Church. that the Church shall see that they attend to be catechisd by the pasto, in his House upon the 2d. day of the week monthly aftẽ the lecture at the usual time, of meeting (viz. aboute 3 of the clock in afrnoone & if

¹ From a letter written by Mr. Fiske to Esdras Read, under date of January 31, 1657-8, and copied into the Note-book.

they shall negl. to come on one day, to bring as much the next time, as may pportion the Time. This vottd.

That we begin the worke in publ. about the begining of 2^d month The Catechases to be dd out by Bro. Kemp at 6^d p peece. . . .

30. of 4. 69 The Church mett . . .

After this. It was pposed the way of Catechising frō house to house. & the yong or vnmarried psos to meet at sō one house of 4 or 5. the maryed to be visitd in their owne houses

In the Note-book Mr. Fiske gives many interesting facts connected with the removal of his church from Wenham to Chelmsford. In September, 1654, the proposal for the change came from certain brethren who spoke for the Chelmsford church. Various meetings were held by the Wenham church in order to consider the subject; and after much deliberation the matter was referred to Governor Endicott and five other prominent men for their counsel. These persons favored the plan, and recommended the proposed removal, which was carried out during the autumn of 1655. In the early history of the Colony there were several other similar instances where churches migrated in a body. At this late day all the causes leading up to such changes are not clear, but it is probable that local dissensions were closely connected with them.

I have copied the various entries in regard to births, baptisms, etc., which will be of service to genealogical students. I have also given the action taken by the Chelmsford church in regard to the removal of three families to the neighboring town of Groton in the year 1662, in order to show the great formality attending their separation from that body. No church had then been gathered at Groton, and perhaps the want of religious instruction there may explain the reluctance of the Chelmsford members to have their brethren remove thither, and live so far away from the sanctuary of the Lord. I have also copied several other matters of interest, one of which is the expression of the church when Mr. Fiske's son, Moses, was about to leave home and go to college. Previous to his departure for Cambridge, he appeared before the members and owned the Covenant, and made public vows that he would be true to the church.

A few of the names found in these pages are not given by

Mr. Savage in his Genealogical Dictionary, but some of the facts herein mentioned are stated by him, — for instance, the date of the baptism of Mr. Fiske's son, Moses, and that of his second daughter, Anna, which must have come originally from this old manuscript. I am inclined to think that Mr. Savage never saw the Note-book, but probably Mr. Felt had used it, and may have furnished him with some of the facts therein found.

THE CHILDREN OF JOHN & ANNA FISKE

Born in N. E.

1638 John. borne the 29th of 6^t }
bapt. the 2^d of 7. } Salem m^r Pet's

Escaped a g^rte danger at wenhã, in passing with the streame vnd^r the mill wheele, when the mill was a goeing. An. 1647. 6^t of 3^d at what time he recei^d (as twere) a new life. not a bone broke &c.

1640 Sarah. borne 24. of 5^t }
bapt. 26^t of 5. } Salem. m^r pet

1642. Moses. borne 12 of 2^d at Wenhã
bapt. 0— of 4^t at Salem¹ by m^r Norice

1644 Anna. borne 15^t of 11th
1645 ——— baptised 2. of 1st (the 1st child bapt. at } Wenham

1646. Eli-ezer. borne 8^t of 12th }
bapt. 15. of 12. } Wenham.
he Deceased 16. of 10. 49.)

1671. The sd. Anne Fiske wife to the sd. Jn^o ffiske haueing liued with him about 37. years. deceased 14. of 12th.mo. at Chelmsford.

1672. Elizabeth Hinksmã [widow of Edmund] marryed to the sd. Jn^o ffiske 1. of 6.^{mo} at Chelmsford. . . .

2^d of 1s^t 45.

This day, being Lords day, the Seale of Baptisme was Administred in this Church, the 1s^t time the Church had the seale Administd wch by reason of the season, 1 sab: before the Church being constrynd to meete in o^r pastors house: & now a 2^d time, (w^{ch} was continued the Church meeting there 2 or 3. Sab: after.)

The Church mem^b Baptised, was Anna Fiske daught^r to John Fiske Pastor. . . .

On one Lo: day in this interī. in the 4^t.mo John Moulton Baptised.

¹ The date of this baptism is not clear. The record was made, probably, at a later time, and perhaps then Mr. Fiske had forgotten the exact date.

On Lo: day. 6^t m^o. we had the seals of the Supp & also the seale of Bapt. Samuel Fiske, & Sarah Geere Baptised. . . .

Mary Herse baptisd. 3^d mo. 46 . . .

this d. being sab. Benjamin fairefeild the sone of g. fairefeild & his wife of Salem Baptised 27 of 4. . . .

Br. Rich dodge of the Church of Salem had a child baptisd here . . .

Baptised. Eliezer Fiske the son of John Fiske & Anna }
his wife } 15 of 12 46..

Baptised. Sarah Norton the daughter of Geo: Norton }

Ephraim Geere baptisd. 17 of 2^d [1647] . . .

this day Elizabeth Moulton daughter of br. Ja. Moulto &c Baptised. 9 of 5. 47

this day Joseph Batcheler the son of Sister Batcheler (& bro. Joseph Batcheler deceased in month 1st) baptised. 22. of 6. 47 . . .

Joseph the son of W^m Fisk & Bridget his wife Baptised. 21 of 3^d [1648] . . .

15. of 8 or thrabouts Mary the daught^r of Rich. & Mary Goldsm. Baptisd

29. of 8 or thrabts. the wife of John Shiply Receivd into Cov^t. hauing made hr relation & declared hrselfe as. the opinion of the wo: of Eli. honrd she had ben taken with them & the matt^r in qu. before the Church being cleared. & laye Test. coming fr Sale^m diuvs of the Church besids the Elds on hr behalfe.

abt a 3 week after hr 3. children John. Nath. & Lidia Baptisd

abt this Time Joseph the sō of Rich Dodge & his wife baptisd . . .

14 of 5^t 50. Sarah the daughter of Bro: Goldsm. & his wife baptisd...

Vpon 4 of 7th 1654 was dated a L^r vnder the hands of Rob^t Fletcher, Tho: Adams, W^m Fletcher, W^m Buttereck in the nã of the rest, engaged in the N. plantation at Chelmsford. whrin the pastō with the rest of this church at Wenham were Invited

This L^r being aftrw^{rds} conveyed to vs by the hands of Isa: Lernet & Tho: Adams. was cōicated to the church. & a Liberty by the Major pte graunted so far to attend the pvidence: as to pmit the pastor to Goe ouer & see the place

accordingly a day was set of meeting at Chelmsford. & thrupō the messengers returned

Vpon the sd. day set diuvs of the Brethren accompanied the pastō ouer vnto Chelms. where the comittee & diuers others were p^rsnt a view was taken of the place. The Brethren p^rsnt satisfied themselves aboute there accomodations. & pposalls were then made to the pastō for his accomodation & yeerely mayntenance. as to be tendred vnto

him by consent of the whole numb of Inhabitants & in their nã by the Committee

These pposales were pmised, with their furthr request to be taken into consideratiõ, & in sō short seasõ after the Returne an Answer & resolution to be sent by Br. Spalding, as at his coming ouer.

After this Returne of the pastor & Brethren upon the 10th of 8^{mo} 54 the resolution & engagm^t of divrs of the Brethren was in the face of the whole church, at a Church meeting concluded upō whras 5. absolutely engaged. 2 conditionally & in word only, refusing at p^rsnt to subscribe their hands. yet after sent their Engagem^{ts} psonally by Bro: Spalding, so as the greater number of the Church now stood engaged, in case the pasto^r engaged also

Vpon 6^t of 9^{mo} the pastõ Sent his Engagm^{ts} by Bro: Spalding & his Resolutiõ, as Respecting the engag^t of so many Brethren as s^d.

Thus the matter Lay dormant as twere all winter till the 1st m^o. 55. at what time Bro: Read coming ouer enformed us in such wise here at Wenhã, as thrypõ both the P. & the sd engaged Brethren demurred upō the pceedings & some th^t had sold heere at Wenhã, redeemed their accomodations agayne into their possession

& a L^r. was sutably sent by Br. Read to acquainte the Chelmesf. Comittee how things stood, & advisd to stead themselves elsewhere.

Betwene this time & the 6^t of 4th mo. 55. things hung vncertayne & vncleered, notwithstanding some L^{rs}. passed & some agitatiõ at Wenhã betwene Isa: Lernet agent fr Chelmsfd & Wenhã Brethren. But as upō 6^t of 4th aforesd was dated a L^r. & sent by the hands of Isa: Lernet Sim: Thompsõ & Tho: Adams. with full powr to them to treate & finally to determine ths busines depending betwene both pties.

Vpon there coming ouer to Wenham. The Matter was determined betwene them & the sd. pasto^r touching the Building of the house Terms of Accommodation & of yeerly mayntenance., as under there hands affixed to the L^{rs} was sent before dated in first month tenth day.

likewise it was concluded betwene them & the Brethren at Wenham to refer the matter to Counsell; & the pties agreed upon were. M^r Endicot Govrno^r M^r Mather, M^r Allen of Dedhã. M^r Cobbet. M^r Shermã. Capt. Johnsõ. of Woobuerne who determined the case for Chelmsford.

This case thus determined: on either side p^rpation was made for the Removal of the Church.

Accordingly about the 13th of 9^{mo} 55. there were met at Chelmsfd. the pastõ with the engaged Brethren of Wenham church viz. Ezdras Read, Edw. Kemp. Austin Killam. Sa: Foster. Geo: Byam & Rich. Goldsmith. seauen in all To whom such of the Brethren of Wooburne & Concord ch: who had before p^rpounded themselues to joynes with the ch:

late at Wenham, Now in Removeing to Chelmsford. & p^rsented themselves. with there L^{rs} of Dismission: upon satisfaction & Testimony Giuen were by an vnanimous vote Received into fellowship They being the greater numb. in way of mutual compliance, a Relatiō passd on either side, as each one voluntarily would:

	mem ^{bs} sig ^d
Viz. Isaack Lernett (he dyed 8. of 10. 57.	1
Simon Thompson (he dyed about 3 q ^{rs} of a y. after at Ooburne	2
W ^m Vnderwood	3
Abram Parker.	4
Benja: Butterfeild	5
Tho: Chamberlin	6
Next received	
Dan. Blogged who brought 1 st of dismission from the Ch: at Cambridge	7

So after this the seales of the supp administred & there were admitted by vote these Members of other churches, to cōion with us in these seales.

M^r Griffin

W^m fletcher & his wife

Tho: Adams) & his wife

Br. Vnd^rwoods wife

(Edw. Spalding)

Bro: Butterfeilds wife

Bro: Chamberlins wife

Edm: Chamberlins wife

Abram Parkers wife

Jos. Parkers wife

Isa: Lernets wife

Sim: Thompsons wife

since Rec^d: into fellowship was Jacob Parker 8

It[em]. Tho: Adams. & Edw. Spalding . on 27 of 2^d 56 9

Children Baptised 10

Isaack Lernets child viz. Isaack Lernett

Abr. Parkers child. viz. Mary. Parker

Jos. parkers wiues child. viz. Anna Parker

Dan Bloggeds child viz. Anna Blogged

Bro: Vnderwoods child viz. Samuel. Vnderwood

Tho: Adams child viz. Edith Adams

3 children of Jacob parkers viz. { Jacob.
on 19 of 2d. 56. { Sarah.
{ Thomas.

Vpon 27th of 2^d. Serj. Hildrick of the ch: of Cambr. received vnto the seale of the supp as a memb of the Church.

It. ppounded to the Ch: this day. to consider about the choyse of some to the worke of the Deacon.

Vpon 11. of 4. 56. a publick g^{nal} fast

In the close of the day was the Church Cov^t renewed repeated & voted by the Brethren.

It[em] there were received into o^r cov^t p^fessing their willingness to owne that o^r cov^t. as had ben exp^rssed

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|---------------|
| 11 | William Fletcher | } dismissed
fro the Church
of Concord | |
| 1 | Bro: Adams his wife | | Mary Adams. |
| 2 | Bro. Vndrwoods wife | | Sara Vndrwood |
| 3 | Anna Butterfeild the wife of Bro: Butterfeild | | |
| 4 | Mary Chamberlin the wife of Bro: Tho: Chamblin | | |
| 5 | Mary Lernett the wife of Bro: Isaack Lernet | | |
| 6 | Mary Thompsō the wife of Bro: Symō Thōson | | |
| 7 | Rose parker the wife of Bro: Abrā Parker | | |
| 8 | Margaret Parker. the wife of Joseph parker | | |
| 9 | Mary Chamberlin, the wife of Edmond chamblin | | |

dismissed to us frō the Church of Ooburne.

Edmond Chamblin the sō of the l. sd. Mary Chamblin baptised 29 of 4 56. This d. the Lo: supp & here cōicatd with vs. Rob. Proctor of Concord

Rafe Hill & his wife	} of ooburne
Geo: Farly	
W ^m Baker of the Church of charlestowne	

This day agreed by the Church that the officer should repeate & declare the Relation of the wo: to the Church:

Also. That when any such psō as haue ben yet no memb to any Church congregated orderly ppounds himself the sã be ppounded to the Church p^rvatly, Testimony concerning their life & conuersation be enq^d into, sd psos be assigned to be joynd with the officer the day set & libty for any othr the brethren or sisters to be p^rsent at the first Tryall.

6 of 5 56. Agreed that next Lo: day the Bre. should bring in ther votes by pap for the nōiation of one Deacō he that had the greater numb of votes to haue the 1st place in nōiatiō & in case the Church agreed not aboute him, then in the 2^d place, the 2^d next & so forth.

& in case the ch. came to a joynt agreem^t about one, then that one accepting of the call to haue the libty of nōiating a 2d.

It. Testim. this day was giuen touching Jo: Nutting & his wife who had propounded themselves to o^r fellowship. viz. Isa: Lernet Sim. Thomson Abram Parker.

13 of 5. 56. Isaack Lernet was chosen as afforesd to officiate the office of a Deacō by way of probation aduised to leaue the place of a serjant as too g^rte a brden to retayne bth that & this too. & at the end of $\frac{1}{2}$ the yeere. he to be p^posed to the Church for officer.

After sō Agitation, & modest refusal at 1st, he was psuaded to accept of it, wch he doeing desired withall the prayers of the Church

It was left with him at his libty to nōiate a 2d to be joynd with him upon next Lo: day. wch if upō consideration here they should refuse, the Church then to be in a readines by pap vots as before to bring in for nōiatiō. & the pceeding aftrwd to be as before, In the absence of the psō nōiated to discusse the matter, & in case of a closure, to pceed accordingly

Before this choyse of Is: Larnet tō a Decons place, (whose wrke was declared to lye in taking care & pviding by all due just & lawfull outward meanes the supporting & continuing of the Ordin: to the Church)

There was Joynd to the Church

Joh: Nutting after his Relation made

assent manifested to the pfession & cov^t of the Church

It. Jo: Nuttings wife. hr relation being repeated by the officer of the Church.

20 of 5. 56 The qu. being put upō what account the Church pceed to a new election. there being 2 brethren w^{ch} had officiāt^d by a call of the Church of wenhā in that place p^rsent, & not put out, by any cause alledged.

Vpon this Bro: Lernet decline the call, as quering the openes of it

1. It ansrwd that the Church pceeded to this way as resoluing it this day forthnight, that twas upō mutuel agremt betwene the Church & them the brethren frely laying downe

& Bro: Read ag: this day exp^rssd himself both to lay downe & also to decline to accept of the call, if he shld be desired & called, fō sō Reasons by him alledged.

Bro: Kemp likewise lay downe & consnt to for sake of the p^rmises

It referrd to next Lo: day to agitate & ripen for a vote whithr Bro: Fletcher haueing o^r vots of noiation or Bro^r Kemp. for 6^{mo} shall cō unanisly to be pitcht upon

This Lo: day Bro: Bloggeds wife ppounded to the Church 27 of 5.

It Bro: W^m Fletcher chosen by gⁿal vote to occupy the place of a Deacō with Bro: Lernet. & accepted it

Bro: Kemp also by silent consent, after so agitatiō occasioned. by a p^rtended case of conscience put by him how he could lay downe his place without sō reflection upō his good Name, was pmittid by the Church to continue the place upō probation. [In margin] Deacons pbationary elected Isaack Lernet W^m Fletcher Edw. Kemp.

it gaue occasion of examining the principles we went upō vnto a new choyse.

& found this as by the acknowl^{dt} of many Brethren.

1 that the Church of wenhā vpō the Remoue hither, not haueing any Deacons in office, did refer the matter to a n. choyse, so as the Brethr. of Chelm: being the grter numb might equally with them haue satisfaction thrin, as enjoying the libty with them. as was manifest at the coming up, upō the receiuing in the Chelmsf. Brethr. into the Cov^t.

& that by comō consent Br: Kemp was to be continued untill the spring, when they together shld pceed to a new election & this by Br: Kemp consntd th'to.

Also that this day 3 week Br. Read & Bro: Kemp both consnted to the Church^s pceeding in that way.

likewise this day forthnight they acted with the Church in the choyse of Bro: Lernet.

likewise this day seuenight they both ag. declared themselves to lay downe & to pceed with the Church

this day also Bro: Read fvlly declared himself before the election pceeded. but Bro: Kemp seing wch way the election would worke ag declared himself as before. wch causd sō pplexaty in o^r pceedings more the vanity of experimting till what time was concluded as sd.

Three of John Nuttings children Baptised	{	John.
	{	James. 3 of 6. 56
	{	Mary.

Test. cā in of the conuersation of Bro: Bloggeds wife, such as wch was satisfactory. & the 3^d day set for the Tryal & examination. this day the seales of the supp [In margin] 10. of 6. Br: Bloggeds wife

The wife of Bro: Blogged admitted into the Church Cov^t & fellowship. 17 of 6^t

The letts dimissory for James Parker frō the Church of ooburne were red & he making his Relation &c & Testifying his assent to o^r Church pfessiō was admitted into o^r Covt. 24. of 6^t

24 of 9th 56 Sister fletcher p'senting hr l^{ts} of dismissiō frō Concord Church was admitted to the Cov^t of this Church.

1s^t of 11th 56 This day a Church meeting agreed upō Lo: day before. (whrin there being absent these Brethren viz. Adams Read Vnd'wood Blogged. Foster. he being detynd by illness

24. of 11 the Church p'sent concluded of these following ppositions w^{ch} had ben before for Aboute a q^r of a yeere from time to time still in agitation.)

1 of 11. 56 & voted vnanimously the forme. In the forme as followes

Children of
the Church. }

We do conceiue

1. That all they that are in Ch: Cov^t are ch: members.
 - 2 That Bapt. (being the initiation seale of the Cov^t) belongs of right to all such.
- (These two were voted by the whole Church the Lords day seuennight before.

1 of 11. 56

And this day the Church pceeded in the rest as followes

- 3 That the Children of Church members, vnder the age of 14 or 15. y. when there pñts tooke the Cov^t are included in there pñts Cov^t & to be reputed members, & consequently to be Baptised, not haueing ben before Baptised.
4. That the Ch: is not bound to extend her inspection & care oũ them: & as they grow to exceed the s^d yeeres, to exercise ch: discipline towards them, in case of their being Scandalous.
- 5 That the Church is likewise bound in pursuance of this her care ouer them, to stir them up to acquaint themselves betimes with God & with his will, & accordingly to get the knowledge of the Principles of Religiõ & to avoyd scandall in there Liues
- 6 That such of these as being vnder the Age of 14 or 15 yeeres, shall behaue themselves Scandalously (as by Lying, filthy cõication, or othwise: shalbe responsible to the Ch: by there next pñts: as either there naal pñts, or such as be in there stead (if of the Church)
- 7 That such of thes as haue attained the knowl. & vnderstanding of the pñciples of Religiõ, & are without just scandall are to be Encouraged to lay hold on & to owne there pñts Cov^t psonally.
8. That such of these yonger Ones as haue once thus psonally Engagd in Cov^t may p'sent there Children to Baptisme, now in there right who are there next parents.
9. That notwithstanding the sd. yonger psons, should be in psonall Cov^t, & priuiledged with the Baptisme of there children. as sd. yet as the case may require, The ch: may doe regularly to satisfy themselves touching there further fitnes ere they yeeld them the liberty, of ptaking in the Lords Supp & of voteing in ch: affaires
10. That in Order to the Ch^s satisfaction this way, A Confession of the faith, & a Relation of the manner of Gods working with there soules, may be required; euen of these.

Heereof L^{rs} to the Ch. at Concord & ooburne were determined to be sent to acquaint them with this.

Br. Adams made sō proposalls (to be sent also) wch for (ad-penepr^m)

1 of 12 56. Vpon this day the Brethren p^rsented their Childr, names & Ages as follow

1 Bro. Lernet	{	Mary about 10 y. old 15 of 5. 56
		Anna 8. yeere old 11 of 6. 56
		William 6. y. old 1. day 8. 56
		Sarah 4. y. old 15. of. 9. 56
		Isaack 2 y. old. 1. of 8. in y. 57.
		Benoni bapt. 17. of 10. 57.
2 Br. W ^m Fletcher at this time	{	John Bates aboute 15 y. old
		Josua Fletcher about 12 y. old
		Lidia. about 9 y. old
		Samuel about 4 y. old
		Paule aboute 2 y. old
2 Br. Th: Adams	{	Mary
		Jonathan
		Pelatiah
		Timothy
		Samuel
		Ædith.
4 Br. James Parker	{	Elizabeth 12 y. old 4. of 1 st 57
		Anna 10. y. old & 14 dayes.
		John 8. y. old & 12. dayes.
		James 5. y old about 15 of 2 ^d 57.
		Josiah 4. y. old & 4 months
		Samuel 6. m. old.
5 Br Abrah. Parker	{	Anna 11. y. old in 8 mo: 56.
		John 9. y. old in 8 mo. 56
		Abrahã 4. y. old in 6. mo. 56
		Mary 1. y. old in 9 ^{mo} 56.
Bro: Jacob Parker	{	Jacob. 4. y. old in 3 ^{mo} 56
		Sarah 2. y. old in 2 ^d mo. 56
		Thomas 1. y. old in 1 st mo. 57.
Br. Vnderwood	{	Remembrance about 15. y. old
		Sarah aboute 14. y. old
		Priscilla about 10 y. old
		Aquilla about 8. y. old.
		Deborah aboute 4 y. old.
		Samuel 1. y. old 1 ^{mo} 57
		He on 17 of 5. 57 drowned. & on 18. of 5. bury- ed. On the gñal tryning day he dyed. being in washing.

S[ister]. Vnderwoods son	Tho : Pellet 22. y. old.
Bro. Tho Chamberlin.	{ Anna about 20 y. old { Thomas. about 17. y. old { Samuel Chäblin aboute 10. y. old { Mary. about 6. y. old
The wife of Edmond Chamberlin	{ Mary. about 8. y. old { Sarah about 7. y. old { Elisabeth about 5. y. old. { John aboute 3. y. old { Edmond about ½ a y. old
Bro. Benj. Butterfeild	{ Benjamin aboute 20. y. old { Jonathan aboute 15. y. old { Nathaniel about 11½. { Samuel about 8. y. old { Joseph aboute 6. y. old.
Bro. Blogged	{ Thomas 2. y. old on 24 of 11. 56. { Anna. 1. y. old on 2d of 9. 56. { Daniel Borne 7 of 11. 56.
Bro. Read.	{ Bethiah aboute 19 y. old { Obadiah about 17. y. old
Bro. Spalding	{ John about. 23 y. old { Edward aboute 21 y. old { Benjamin 14. y. old on 4 of 2 ^d . 56. { Joseph 10. y. old on 25 of 8. 56 { Dinah 7. y. old on 14 of 1. 56. { Andrew 4 y. old on 19 of 9. 56
Bro. Foster.	{ Hannah about 7. y. old { Samuel aboute 6. y. old { Eli. aboute 3. y. old.
S[ister]. Shipley who was admitted into Cov ^t with this Church at Wenhã 15. of 8. 48	{ John aboute 19. y. old { Nathaniel aboute 17. y. old { Lidia aboute 15. y. old
Bro : Nutting	{ John 5. y. old 25 of 6 ^{mo} 56 { James 3. y. old 30 of 4. 56. { Mary 1. y. old 10 of 11. 56
Bro. Symõ Thompsõ	{ Sarah 10. y. old on 25 of 12 56 { James 7. y. old 15 of 1. 56 { Mary. 5. y. old 9 of 11. 56. { Anna 1. y. old 30 of 5. 56. . . .

William the Son of W^m Fletcher Baptised 8. of 1. 57

Elizabeth the Daughter of Rob. Procter baptised . . .

3^{mo} 57. Edward Foster The son of Sam : Foster Baptised.

[4th Mo.] In this month Edward Foster The sō of Sam : Foster baptised . . .

1. of 9^{mo} 57 Mary Parker the daughter of sister pker wife of Joseph pker Baptised . . .

Josiah Nutting This d. [date uncertain] Bro. Nuttings child baptised Joseph Hildrick Some few week befor Br. Hildrick child

12 of 7 58. This day Moses Fiske, being suddenly to depte to the Colledge was called forth before the Church : & owned thr his followeth Cov^t in the face of the Church, psonally in cov^t engaging himself to the Church, & the Church to him, as in the forme as followes. [Here follows the covenant.] . . .

[13 of 12, 59] Sarah Nutting the daughter of Br. & Sister Nutting Baptised Zechariah pker the sō of Bro. Ja: pker Baptised . .

21 of 7. 60 Isaack Parkr the sō of Abrā Parker Baptised . . .

9 of 9 61 On this day. the 3 bre : Ja : parker, Ja : Fiske, Joⁿ Nutting ppounded to the Church. That they haweing some thoughts and inclinations to a Remoue, desired to ppound it to the Church, that (as they may see God to make way for them) they may hawe the Churches loueing leaue so to doe, & their prayers for them, for a blessing of God upō there vndertakeings.

This being pposed by the pasto^r, he added that himself declined to speake ought in the case, one way or othr: but desired that the brethren might manifest themselves.

Br. Kemp. app'hending not any nty of the remoue, wishd they would attend Gods call here.

Br. Ad : sd. twas a qu. whither the case wilbe resolued at p'sent. as in r of the desire. [In margin] These as a brothr he declared

Twas replyed : that they being yet disingagd, had but the opportunity, as till the next 3^d day of the weeke, to giue in their Answr to Groton. & they desired an answr frō the Church by that time.

Br. Ad. furthr sd. they saw a call of God leading them to this place & if they app'hended a call of God away, twas nēy [necessary] they should giue an accōnt to the Church of their call hence.

Br. Chābl. p'ssed also, that they render to the Church their grounds

The pasto^r answrd. that if any one or 2 more did speake to that purpose, he would put it to the vote, to see if it now the Churchs mind they should giue their grounds : & if it app to be the mind onely of 2 or 3 brethr. He should heare them, to take p'vate satisfaction.

Heereupō scarce a man in the Church, but p'sently sd. the grounds, the grounds.

So the pastō desired the br : to approue their grounds

Br. parkr stepping up to speak. the pastō asked him, (he speaking in the plural numb) whithr he spake the grounds of them all there or only his owne : Answrd. tho they had each of them sō ptic. grounds of lesse: conseq. yet in the mayne they now all agreed. or to that effect.

& then sd. that he for his pte owned that God had a hand in bringing him hither : & he hoped he shold see the sã oũruling hand of his, in his Remoue.

& as to their grounds, tis not their desire to exp'sse them in ptic, vnlese it shall be pticularly desired & urged Onely in gñal that it is bec. of sevrall things p'se upō their spits as in refference to Church Administration, & sō uncomfortable differences, as they all know are wonted to arise abt the sã; & added, y^t if he could enjoy all ordin: or Administration, as according to Rule, as he app'hended, he for his pte would not remoue

Br. Fiske pfsd his assent. & added, y^t as his ends of coming were not knowne to God, & in sō measure to the Church, so it would be no smale thing that should moue him to a Remoue.

Heervpō much was sd by one & othr

& the pastor pceivd the matter to tend to much agitatiō moued for a Church meeting the following day

Br. Ad. (opposing the hearing of the grounds in ptic) haueing pposd, that it might be put to passe in the Church. whithr the deacōs of the Church, remayn such in the Church of Chelmsford, as there is no cause for these Br. upo that account to remoue

Br. par. Replied.

1 that the ppō for a voate seemed not according to a rule

2. that if their grounds might not be hrd, he hoped they would not make the Church a p^rfer.

the pastō moved that the grounds might be considerd, considering it would also reflect vpo the Church. they were Bro: & eithr in an erro^r and mistake and they need to be holpen: or not, & then the Church need to considr it. & so p'ssd for a meeting next day

Bro. Ad. declined it & objecting ag it tooth & nayl, sd it tended to the breach of the Church: and we had no call of God to hear them.

Twice it was voted. 1 for a meeting at 10 a clock. & then all voted exept himself & one more: then at the motiō of br. Fletchr. at 9. a clock, & then 3 or 4 only dissntd

10 of 9 61. At this ch. meeting Br. Ad. Fl. & Chabl. absent rest p'sent. br. Chabl probably knew not of the meeting

At wch meeting. they p^rfessed if the Church had ben all togethr, they would & had entended ingenuously to have agreed themselves. but seeing sō principal bro: and one as seems to them, purposely absent, they conceivd it their prudence rathr to decline the exprsing of

the grounds. in ptic than to give occasiō of any breach or divisiō in the Church

& as they remoue, for their owne peace sake, so they are unwilling to spring aught, (tho lying, as ned such greife upo their owne spits) as should tend to the breach of the place. It being p^ressed by divers yesternight, that the Church is looked at to be in good state & union at p^rsent neithr was it the meaning to speak so, if they had spoken as to accuse the Church, or any ptic. psos in the Church. but to haue seene what ease they could have obteynd to their owne spits.

Br. Nutting p^rposed one ground further in r of his one ptic. viz. the inconveniences of his p^rsnt situation & that he could not help himself. for in remoueing to his remote accomodations, haueing sevrall smale childr, he should much dep^rue himself or wife of the ordin: by that means. & sought rather the settling himself comfortably for the outward mā, nigh to the meeting house.

After much Agitation in the p^rsence and absence of the 3 brethren, they cā to this result for Answr.

That the case of the br. Remoue was doubtful to vs at p^rsent & we desird furthr consideration of it so as if p^ruid: shall in meane time before they can heare futhr frō us, settle them in their p^rposed way, we shall leaue the Matter to God: if othwise, by their leafe or oth^r p^ruid: they shalbe delayed, we shall be willing they shall hr furthr frō us, so soone as we shall resolute o^rselues.

At this meeting also voted

1 that we should call upō Tho: Barret to know his reasos why he p^rsecuted not his motion of Joyning in o^r cov^t

2 that Jacob parker shld be joynd wth the pastō & deac^s in p^rivate Tryal

3. that in case he attend with a desire to p^rceed, he shold be informd that tis the mind of the Church that he should w^h satisfy the Church for his vnbrothrly & treachers appearing at Concord Church. ag: this Church in bro: procters case, & that aftē himself had declared himself satisfied with the Church. so (proh dolor) the case is left. so

that in case these bre: they remoue. Suppose (as in charity to them) their plea Real A Bro: or Breth. haueing matter of Greife or offence vpo their C^s respecting ecclesiastical Administration: neithr they may be admitted into a capacity of becoming better informed, in case erroneous: nor the Church, nor any bro: in the Church, if under sin: of seeing their owne euil: & this sin shalbe smothered, & Conscience simply slighted!

23 of 10 61. A Church meeting appoytd upō occasiō of giving in the deacons Accounts. &c &c.

At wch meeting. it was agreed & vottd that the Nōion of sō psō, to Officiet by way of pbatīō till Bro: parker remoues.

At this meeting there were p'sent 13 of the Church. Br. Fletcher went away at the beginning. And absent were Br. Adams Br. Blogged Br. Ja: fliske Br. Vnderwood.

& 1 it was argued whithr the Church might goe about so weighty a busines, without the rest of the Brethren, they not hauing notice of the busines.

& Twas Resolvd. 1. that their absence ought to be no hindrance to the Churchs pceedings, seeing they ought to haue been there. it being publickly agreed of.

2. that they absent could not be ignorant of Br. parkers Remoue, & of the nty of the consideration of a seasonable supply in his roome

3. that there is no rule obvious, that ties eithr the officer to moation beforehand all the occasions of a Church meeting; or for a Church, if occasion be offered of the consideratiō of sō new matter, & when they are together, to defer the determination throf at p'sent, bec. it was not eithr foreseene, or soe declared, as one reasō of the meeting

4. that where a Church meeting is by gñal consnt appoytd, & publickly knowne: that they that doe meete haue the powr of transacting & defering matters, as a Church of Christ the grter numb at least wise being assembled.

2. It was argued whither of Br. Fletcher, stood not yet a pbationer?

& Twas resolved that 16 of 9 60 it being vottd that Bro. Fletcher should be continued still upō pbation to see if he can cā off to ye vote of the Church touching 2^d. Relations, or a Tryal of membs of othr Churches dismissd to vs, touching the worke of grace, before admissiō

Bro: Fletcher thrvpō declined, as he openly had Testifyd both by word & action, as sevrall did there hold forth. to continue in their imploye & thrvpō euen contrary to many entreaties & psuasions had forsaken the deacons seate. so as twas not the Church, but himself that had set himself by.

Herevpō the Brethren pceeded to nōiati by paps

& whras it was objected as. Br. Ja: pker & Bro. Nuttings voteing, bec they now upō a Remoue.

This case was also agitated & it resolved, that they being yet in full cōion with us, had by rule a right of voteing & acting with us. & ought not to be denyed it so they two also vottd

& in the votes Bro: Hinksmā had 7. Br. Farwel 5 & Jacob pker 1. vote

Heerevpō the 2 form Brethen being desird their absence awhile. The rest controvertd, argued & agitaid the matter: & in fine by an unanimous vote agreed that the sd 2 former brethren, should be taken in as pbationrs. & nothing apping to the contrary, that it was intended by the Church in seasō to pced with them both to ordination.

So Br. Hinksmā was to keep the box. booke, & acconts of constitutiō. Br. Kemp to pvide the bread & the wine. & Bro Farwl. to take the charge of the linen & pewter &c.

this day Br. Abr. parkr was chosen in Br. Nuttings place, to take care of the clensing the meeting house that it be kept in a desent posture & of the hower glasse, Cushion &c. For a yeere.

[In margin] He refusing attend Br. Biā was chosen & acceptd

Br. Thos Barrets case was considered on. as standing off frō Joyning in with us in cov^t bc. of a difference (as he held forth) betweene Ja: Richardsō & himself. So twas resolvd, that he should be at p^rsnt let alone & obserue to see his way, & what he would doe, seing that neither we had reasō to urge him, nor reasō to remitt his L^{rs} of dismissiō, such as wld passe current ad populū

The Accounts being giuen in by Br. Ja: Parker of the Churchs receipts expenses &c for yeere past, so far as concerns the Lo: day contributio: whras there appd sō that had not contributd to the Church stock, or aboute what was belonging to the defreying the chrg of the elemes it being objected they shld be brought up to their duty

Twas answd 1. the Church left them to their libty

2 that they now exempted their hauing any hand (in the disposing of any pte of the Church stock), with the rest of the brethren.

The accounts are to be dēd. in to the pastō & the othr deacons, to be Recorded by them. . . .

28 of 3 65 Jos. pkers wife & hr children dismissed to the Church at Groton

as aboute a q^r of a yeere before: the wife of Jam: parker. of Jam: Fiske. of Joⁿ Nutten likewise with their children dismissed. as before. .

2d of 8 65 This day after the Afternoone exercise the Church met at my house . . .

2 My son Moses was ppounded to the Church to joyne in full fellowship . . .

5 of 9 65 Moses fiske, after a pfesiō of his faith made in the publ. congregatiō respecting both the doctrine of faith: & the worke of faith upō his owne soule: & the manifestation of his appbatiō of & consent to the confessiō of this Church: was receiued into the cov^t of this Church, & so into full cōion.

This day Moses fiske exercised in publ. on the afternoone, frō Eccl. 12. 1. 12 of 9. 65 . . .

Bro: Joⁿ Wrights child baptized. Ebenezer Wright. 28 of 11. . .

11 of 12 65 Elizabeth Steuens Baptised

18 of 12 65. Lidiah Parker the daughter of Abrā pker baptisd . . .

Samuel
 Pelatiah { Whitemore the sons of or } Baptised 8 of 5. 66
 Abraham { sister Butterfeild in ther }
 minority

y. 65 CHILDREN BAPTISED IN CHELMS. CHURCH

- 9 of 1 Rachel the daughter of Jac. & Sarah pker
 15. of 11. Josiah & Benj : the sons of John & Hannah Blanchard
 12 of 2. Mehitebel Baret the daughter of Tho : (& Francis)
 24 of. 4. Solomō Keyes the sō of Solomō & Francis
 15. of. 7 Samuel procter the sō of Rob. & (Sarah)
 11 of 9 Ebenezer Wright the son of John (& Abigaile)
 8 of 12 Eliz. Steuens the daughtē of John (& Elisabeth)
 1. of 2^d 6^s Eliz. & Mary the daughters of James & Margaret
 Hildreth . . .

On this day Bridget the wife of Ja : Ritchardsō taken into full
 fellowship & her youngst child baptisd. [In margin] 16. of 7. 66
 Bridget Ritchardsō receid Eliz. hr daughtr baptisd . . .

the daughter of Sa : Fletchers Wife viz. Margeret fletcher [In
 margin] Hannah Fletcher Baptised

Baptised Tho : & James the sons of sister Ritchardsō the wife of Ja :
 Ritchardsō. [In margin] 23 of 7. 66. Tho Ja : Ritchardsō Bapt. . . .

Josua fletcher Vpon a Report touching Jos. Fl. that he had ben
 at Road Island among the Quakers. & of his idle expensive caroses
 at Grotō Concord &c The Ch. was called to consider of the matter.
 Br. Adams confimrd the report. saying to this effect in the Church That
 he was in a way to ruine himself, & to spoyle othrs, & he would be in
 danger to spoyle his children (for at that time one of his sons was with
 Jos. at Groton . gone thithr when he was frō home. & had ben thr
 sevrall dayes, & had bought a horse thr (but his fa : made his bargayne
 voyd.) in the pcesse of the discourse. Br. Adams p'ssed the Church
 to brake into the ground work. viz. his fathrs family, & spake much
 that way, laying the cause & roote of all this, upō the pñts & family.
 whrvpō the Church chose sevrall to be joynd with the officer to search
 into the matter, & to driue it as far as they could & then to bring it
 unto the Church. the brethren chosen were. Br. Farwel Br. Spalding
 Br. Adams. who declined to act in the matter bec. of relatiō to the
 Church chose Leift. Fostr in his roome. othrs p'sent at the p'vate agi-
 tation at my house were Br. Barge Br. Jac. pker Br. Kemp. Moses
 Fiske.

y. 66. on 26 of. 10. we met, & Jos. Fl. attended. sev'al things were
 spoke to him. but he excused & evaded all. & in reference to his leaving
 his fa : family & so being out of Gods way, alledged his fathrs consent.

& as to the cause there were sō that would manage that besids for more p^rvat examining of things betw^h his fa: & him.

y. 66. upō 1. of 11. Jos. being sent to by Br. Farwel & br. Spalding to attend on this day after the Lecture, who also had pmisd them yet attended not the brethren, who wayted for his coming till nigh sun set. & after we had information that he wd by the house in the time whilst we were together, with Mary Martin behind him.

Matters lay vpō furthr enq^rry & consideratiō vntill 3^{mo} 67. & then vpō a Sab. day after the aftrnoone exercise he had notice by J^{on} Burge & Jac. Parker to attend the Church but he attended not.

About a 4^{night} or 3. weeks after, he was called forth in the next congregation: & chrged with these 4 ptic.

- 1st his non-attendance upō the Church when req^d
- 2^d his non-attendance upō the officer & Br. when req^d
3. his non-attendance upō catechising neithr in publ. nor p^ruate since his leaueing his fathers house.
4. his non-attendance upō his fathrs counsel & govrn^t.
his Answr to the last was, that he could not justify, bt did condeme himself in pte. the other he somewhat shifted & excusd

But before his charges. he publickly ownd himself (being demandd) to be under the watch & govrn^t of Christ in his Church.)

After sevrал agitations in sd p^rivate Church meetings aboute the matter twas voted: that he should be admonished the vote passed 23 of 4. 67

The admonitiō was giuen 30 of 4. 67. The ground was. his haueing for sō space of time acted the pte of a Child of Belial. 2 Cor. 6. 15...

18. of 12. 67 A ch. meeting upō the Deacons Accounts . . .

This day there passed these vots . . .

3 That the Deacons lay out to the value of 20 s^s for the use of S. Shiply this following yeere, to the procuring her sō wine, sugar or such other Refreshiugs, as she may stand in need of: & to bring it in, in the accounts. . . .

Hannah Balke recei^d into full coion this day seuennight she had this day 2 children viz Hannah & Sarah Baptisd [In margin] 23 of 3. 69 Hannah Balke . . .

This d. the sc^rt. (Tho. Ad. & his wife absent.) phebe Ritchardsō the daughter of sister Ritchrdsō & Ja: Ritch^{ds} Baptised 10 of 2. 70 . . .

Mary Butterfeild Baptisd. the daughter of Mary Butterfeild 8 of 3. 70 Nathaniel Blogged the sō of dan Blogged baptised 15. of 3. 70 . . .

1 of 6. 70. Bro. [Henry] Farewel dyed suddenly in the morn: & was buried upō o^r Lecture day. . . .

1 of 10. 70. Bro: Butterfeilds Accounts . . .

dd to Sister Shibly 00 - 12 - 00

“ to Sister Shibly y. 70 00 - 10 - 00 . . .

Mary Warren the Daughter of Rich. Hildr. p'sentd hrselfe to Tryal. 18 of 2. 72 ppounded to the Church. ppounded in the publ. congregatiō 22 of 2 72 After owned hr sa: Cov^t. & hr 2 childr baptised 28. of 2. 72 . . .

30 of 1. 73 Josiah Ritchrdsō in m^o 2^d his Children Baptisd

11 of 3. 73 Priscilla Spalding This day she haueing stood ppounded a fortnight, was Admitted (Her Relation being Red) vnto full cōion. hr children Dorathy, & Deborah & Sarah. Baptised

13 of 5. 73 Lidia perhã This day hr relatiō being Red, & othr things orderly attended. She was admitted to full coion Her Children: Mary, John, Joseph, Anna Baptisd

10 of 6. 73 Hannah Spalding Received into full cōion with the Church & hr 6. Children on 24 of 6 Baptised viz. John, Edward, Samuel, Vnice, Hannah. Deborah.

24 of 6. 73 Mary Woodhead Recei^d into full cōion in this Church. & her 2 children that had ben before baptised in Concord.

17 of 8. 73 Mary Waddle She haueing ben Admitted into full fellowsh with this Church: was herself & her 3 childr Mary. Rose. & Williã. Baptised. in p'snce of the Congregatiō.

9 of 9. 73 Hannah farwel, She Admittd to o^r cov^t & Afr Hannah, Joseph, Elizabeth baptised

14 of 10 73 Joseph Spalding the son of Jn^o & Hannah Spalding Baptised.

11 of 11 73 Sam fletcher Señ hs Child baptised caled W^m fletcher

18 of 11. 73 Rich Hildreth had his dismissiō & of 3. of his Children, Joseph Percy & Isaack. gravnted him, to the Ch: at Cambridge: according to his desire. he declaring his purpose of setlem^t there & of liueing & dying there.

8 of 12 73 Jacob Warren Mary Warren These two admitted to full cōion this day in o^r church & they had 2 children Infants, wch they resigned to the watch of this church (Jacob. & Joseph.

31 of 11 74 Henry farwel. the son of Hannah farewel baptised . . .

Elizabeth woodhead, daughter of Sister Mary woodhead Baptised 28 of 12 74

Joseph barret (being taken into ful fellowship last Sabbat) was on this day baptised & his daughter Rebeca: 4 of 2. 75 . . .

Rev. James DeNormandie, D.D., presented to the Society the original commission signed by Governor Pownall, August 8, 1757, appointing Sir William Pepperrell Lieutenant-General of the militia of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

A new serial of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the May and June meetings, was ready at this meeting.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the PRESIDENT submitted the following report:—

At the last meeting (October) of the Society, the Report of the Council in relation to the proposed plan for publishing memorial editions of the histories of Bradford and Winthrop, submitted at the June meeting, was, after discussion, recommended to the Council. In relation to this matter, the Council would now further report as follows:—

In the view the Council have taken of the proposed editions of these two works, the question turns mainly upon Winthrop's "Journal." The manuscript of the "Journal," so far as it is still in existence, is in the custody of the Society, and justly considered the most interesting, as well as the most valuable document in its possession. In regard to the "Journal," therefore, a certain responsibility would seem to attach to the Society. Adequate provision ought at least by it to be made that no edition of the "Journal" in any way unworthy should be brought out at this or at any future time. That the editions heretofore published are exhausted is apparent from the fact that no copies of any of them can now be obtained from the booksellers; and that, when copies from time to time find their way to the public, they are immediately purchased at prices at least twice that of their publication. Under these circumstances it is apparent that in the case of such a standard authority as Winthrop's "Journal" a new edition will be called for, and be forthcoming, at some future time, whether more or less remote. In the opinion of the Council, that edition, when published, should be brought out under the auspices of the Society.

The Council is, on the other hand, fully sensible of the obligation as respects this manuscript we, as a Society, are under to the Winthrop family. It feels that, under existing circumstances, no action should be taken by the Society in regard to the "Journal" except with the concurrence, and, if possible, the co-operation, of that family. Its present representative here has, for reasons which will be recorded in our Proceedings, and which, moreover, are in themselves entitled to grave consideration, expressed his extreme unwillingness to have the Society enter at this time upon the work of publishing a new edition in the way proposed.

As respects Bradford's History the case, so far as this Society is concerned, has seemed to the Council to rest on a wholly different ground. Apart from the fact that the first edition of Bradford was published as a volume of our Collections, with annotations by the late Charles Deane, we have no more special connection with the Bradford, or its future editions, than any other historical or learned society in the Commonwealth. The Deane edition of 1856 is exhausted; but not only has a facsimile edition of the original manuscript since been published, but another large edition of the text, without annotations, has recently been printed by the Commonwealth, copies of which can be obtained at a nominal cost.

Under these circumstances, there would not seem to be any immediate or pressing call for a new edition of Bradford. There is, also, no reason to apprehend another edition of a character which would interfere with some future edition brought out by this Society in accordance with the scheme recommended by the Council in the report under consideration.

The suggestion of a memorial edition of the Bradford history at this time, wholly distinct from a similar and uniform edition of the Winthrop, does not, therefore, commend itself to the judgment of the Council; for, besides the fact that no especial demand for it exists, there does not seem to be any good reason to believe that such an edition, distinct from the Winthrop, would accomplish the purposes, so far as the Society is concerned, the Council had in view, as set forth in the Report which has been recommitted.

Under these circumstances, it seems to the Council inad-

visible that any further immediate action should be taken on the Report submitted at the June meeting. Mr. Winthrop has intimated that, in his judgment, as well as that of the Council, another edition of the "Journal" will at some future period be required. It becomes, therefore, a mere question of time; and, in view of the discussion had, and vote taken, at the last meeting of the Society, the Council recommends that the scheme as proposed be allowed to remain in abeyance until some future day, when, there is reason to believe, it may be taken up on a basis which shall command practically unanimous assent and general co-operation.

By order of the Council,

CHARLES F. ADAMS, *President*.

On motion of Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER the report was accepted by a unanimous vote.

The President then announced the death of Julius Dexter, a Corresponding Member, who died suddenly in Cincinnati October 21st, and called on Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, who paid a brief tribute to Mr. Dexter's large public spirit and the many useful services which he had rendered to his native city.

The President then called for communications from the Third Section of the Society, and Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG spoke in substance as follows:—

I desire to present as a bequest from the late Lieutenant-Colonel Charles B. Fox, of Dorchester, five manuscript volumes, comprising his journal and extracts from his correspondence during the Civil War. The first two volumes relate to the time when he was connected with the Thirtieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, which was attached to the Army of the Potomac, from July 29, 1861, to February 5, 1863. The last three consist of letters written to his wife while he was an officer of the Fifty-fifth Regiment of Volunteer Infantry (which was the second colored regiment sent forth from this State, Colonel Shaw having commanded the first, which was the Fifty-fourth), and they extend from July 23, 1863, to May 22, 1865. These volumes were given by him to our Society, with the proviso that they shall not be accessible to the public during the lifetime of any

of those who took part in the events described, — that is, until the year 1915. The diary of Rev. Dr. John Pierce of Brookline, the grandfather of Colonel Fox, which consists of eighteen manuscript volumes, is deposited in the library of this Society under similar restrictions.

In these records deserved tribute is paid to the good conduct, courage, and efficiency of the colored troops, who by their soldierly bearing won the admiration of those who had been prejudiced against them. The author describes the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, which was the cradle and hotbed of the Rebellion; and he pictures graphically the scene when after its evacuation the colored soldiers marched through its streets, singing "John Brown," "Babylon is falling," and the "Battle Cry of Freedom." The white population remained within their houses, but peeped through the blinds as the "Black Yankees" passed, while cheers, blessings, and prayers were heard on every side.

The following passages from these books give an insight into the character of the man, and show his style as a writer:—

"This afternoon our full company, accompanied by the band, attended a funeral, and escorted the remains to the borders of the town, where the usual guard of a corporal and eight men took charge of the body. The services were held in the open street, in front of the house where he died. The coffin was draped with the American flag, and a bouquet was placed upon it, the whole company resting their heads on their reversed rifles while the prayer and reading continued. A military funeral at the seat of war is a solemn sight. The marching to the quarters of the deceased, without music, even a drum tap; the roll of the drums, long and low, as the body passes the lines; the moving at slow time and with reversed arms to the grave or elsewhere, all conspire to affect the mind. But the ceremony ended, the corpse consigned to its rest, the arms are shouldered, the lively music is resumed, and too often as quickly passes the effect of the scene."

"The Band has just commenced to play, as is usual on pleasant evenings. Christmas eve, celebrated by a regiment of colored troops on the soil of South Carolina and within sight of the shapeless ruins of Fort Sumter, no word of mine can make stranger the naked truth."

"We are patiently watching the front door of Charleston to prevent its inhabitants from burning it, after the manner of Moscow, and taking

to their ships, while General Sherman or General Grant gets around to the back door."

"As I rode into Charleston at the head of the regiment — the first Union troops that have entered the place, except as prisoners, since the beginning of the rebellion — and saw the formidable batteries we have fronted for more than eighteen months; when I saw the Stars and Stripes waving over Moultrie, and, above all, Sumter; and witnessed the shouts and rejoicings of hundreds of the slaves made free by our coming, who lined the road, I could hardly keep the tears from my eyes, and could not but feel that such a scene comes but once in a lifetime. I could not find words to describe our march. Those who were there will remember it in after years as the greatest of the events of their lives. All the trials and hardships of the war were for the time forgotten in the one great triumph, the fall of the birthplace of this iniquitous rebellion."

Charles Barnard Fox was born in Newbury, now Newburyport, on January 17, 1833, and was the eldest son of Rev. Thomas Bayley Fox and Feroline Walley (Pierce) Fox. His father was a Unitarian clergyman, who at that time was settled over the Harris Street church in Newburyport. After attending public and private schools, in 1852 he became a student of civil engineering in Boston, and in 1853 and 1854 he was engaged on railroad surveys in Georgia and South Carolina. In 1858 he visited Kansas. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, he joined the "Fourth Battalion of Rifles," a militia organization which was sent to Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, and formed the nucleus of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers, in which he was made a lieutenant. In July 29th the regiment left for the front, and at this time the first volume of the diary begins. When the Fifty-fifth Colored Regiment was recruited, he was commissioned Major, then promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and afterwards was brevetted Colonel for gallant action on the field. At the close of the war Colonel Fox returned to civil life, and for a time held the position of Inspector in the Boston Custom House, which he resigned to carry on a real-estate agency, in which he continued until his death, which occurred at his home in Dorchester, March 30, 1895.

Colonel Fox was active in public affairs, and served two terms in the Legislature of the State. He was a man of sterling

principles and character, always interested for the comfort of those entrusted to his care, and solicitous for their moral as well as physical welfare. He opposed strongly the vices of camp life, intemperance and gambling, and he said, "There is one thing which I always do when in command, and that is I stop card-playing among the men on Sunday. If there were no other reason, the effect of having all days alike is bad." He had a high standard of what a regiment should be, and he endeavored to bring his men up to it; and in his letters he criticised unsparingly those officers who were lax in discipline and loose in practice. He was not anxious for promotion, but strove rather to be faithful in the place which had been assigned to him. He had a love of music, an appreciation of the beauties of nature, and he was warmly attached to his kindred and friends. The tributes which were paid to his memory after his death bore witness to his genial presence and courteous bearing, his high-mindedness and integrity, his thoughtfulness and sympathy, and they expressed the indebtedness and gratitude of the community for his life, character, and example.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, D.C.L., communicated the following letter, written two days after the battle of Lexington, and sent to a member of his family, addressed "To Col^o George Watson, In Plymouth, & Mr Job Howland, a special Courier." The writer of the letter was descended on the mother's side from Governor Thomas Hinckley, and was born January 23, 1715. He died March 16, 1783. In the historical sketches of Barnstable by the late Hon. Amos Otis, printed in the "Barnstable Patriot," it is stated that the "Hon. Edward Bacon, youngest son of Deacon Samuel, was a distinguished man in his time. He held many important offices. He took an active part during the Revolution, and in the stirring times immediately preceding it. His patriotism was at one time doubted; but the resolutions passed by the town and recorded vindicate his character as a patriot and a man."

BARNSTABLE, April 21st, 1775.

MY EVER DEAR SIR — I shall not at this time trouble you with the heart felt distress under which I now groan for the distress situation of my dear country, but only to desire you to favor us with the most particular acc^t of the late dreadful maneuvers that have taken place of late

to the northward that has come to y^r hand. The favor will be gratefully acknowledged by many of your friends here, more especially by
Y^r real friend & humble ser^t.

EDW^D BACON.

Mr. Goodwin also exhibited the original survey of Clark's Island in Plymouth harbor, made in 1687-8 for Nathaniel Clark by direction of Sir Edmund Andros, who wanted the island either for himself or for Clark. Ownership of the island was claimed by the town of Plymouth, which stoutly resisted this attempt to dispossess it. The overthrow of Andros in 1689 decided the matter. But the town was involved in so great expense that it was obliged to sell the island in 1690. A facsimile of the plan is herewith given.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said: —

The following anecdote, told by Dr. William Eustis to Dr. Redford Webster, formerly an officer of the Historical Society, is found in a volume of Collections (second series, IV. 51, 52) of this Society, which was published in the year 1816. At that time Dr. Eustis had been a surgeon in the army throughout the Revolutionary War, and had also been a Member of Congress, and Secretary of War under President Madison; and later he was Governor of the Commonwealth. I mention these facts in some detail in order to show that he was a man of position and prominence, and that his statements are entitled to weight. Furthermore, for a considerable period of time while hospital surgeon, Dr. Eustis lived in the house of Colonel Beverly Robinson, opposite to West Point, in which Benedict Arnold had his headquarters. These circumstances all go to confirm the story as told in the account, which is given below: —

ANECDOTE OF THE SOLDIERS OF ARNOLD.

WHEN the Traitor Arnold deserted his post at West Point on Hudson's River, he was rowed in his barge to the British Sloop of war, "the Vulture," then lying near Tappan Bay. On leaving the shore from his quarters, which were on the East side of the river, about two miles below the point, the Cockswain of the boat put the bow of the boat up the river as usual, for the point. Arnold ordered him to put the boat about and go down the river with all possible expedition, adding, that

Casey

Sauganash

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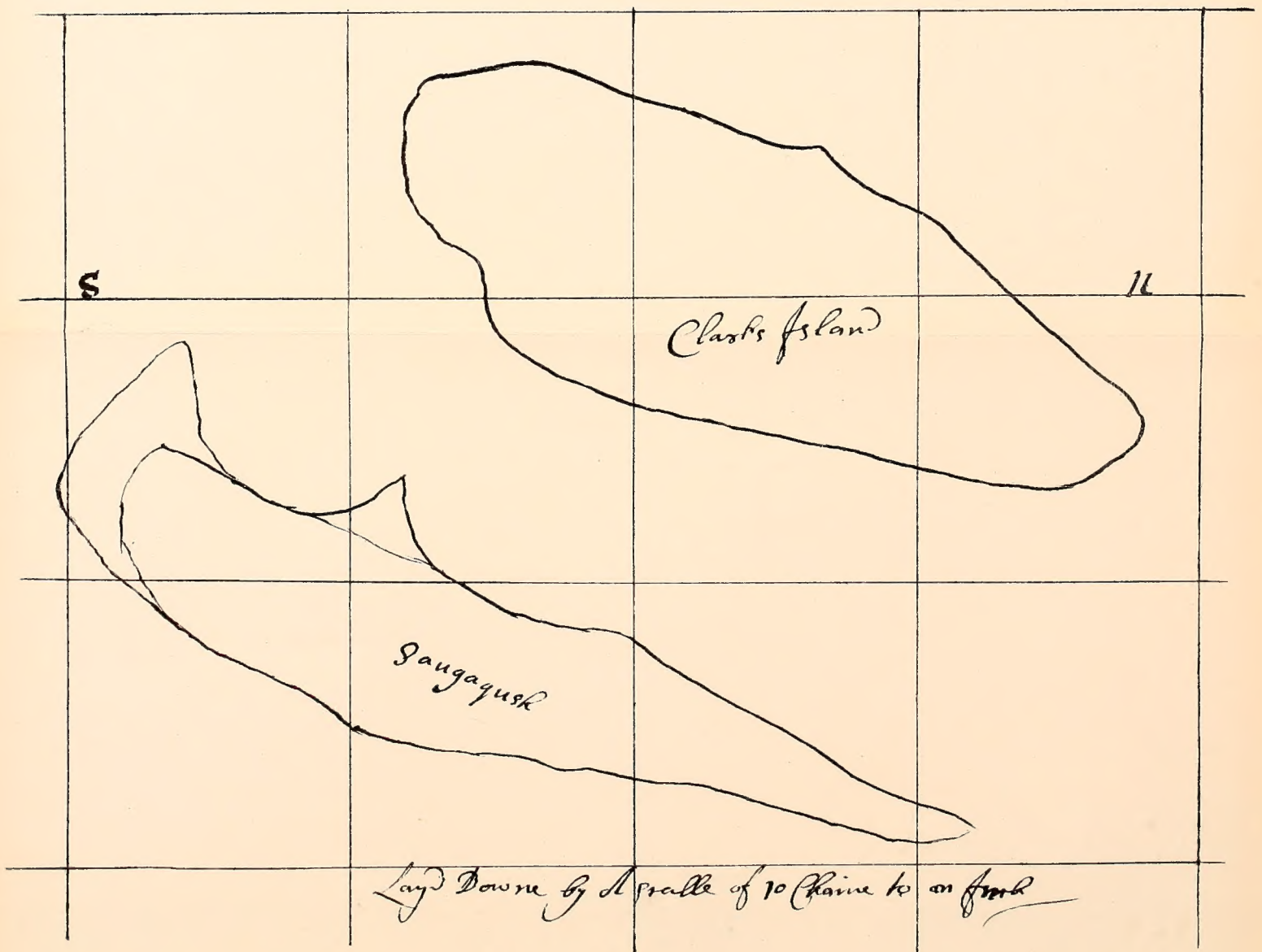
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By Vastew of A Warrant from his Excellency J. D. and
 Andros Knight Captaine Generall and Governr. in Chief
 of his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England
 bearing Date Boston the 23th of Feb^r 1687

Have surveyed and Laid out for M^r. Nathaniell Clarke A
 certaine small Island being knowne by the name of
 Clarks Island and is situate and lieng in new Plimoth
 Bay baring from the meeting houses in plimoth north north
 East about three miles and is bounded Down with water
 and flats and ronteynes Eighty six Acres and a quarter
 and three Rod performed this 3^d Day of March 1687

Philip Weller surd





he was going on board the "Vulture" on business of the greatest importance. After about an hour and an half or two hours, the barge reached the Vulture. Arnold went on board and ordered the crew to come on board. They did so. After some time Arnold came on deck from the cabin, and told the crew that he had quit the rebel service and joined the standard of his Britannick Majesty; that he should have orders to raise a brigade in that service, and addressing himself to the corporal and eight privates, which constituted his barge's crew, added, "if you will join me, my lads, I will make serjeants or corporals of you all; and for you James," turning to the corporal, "I will do something more." Surprized and indignant the corporal replied, "No sir, one coat is enough for me to wear at a time." Two of the bargemen who had been British deserters remained with Arnold, the others with their cockswain, the corporal, returned to their duty, not in the barge they had rowed down, but in an ordinary inferior boat, Arnold having the meanness to steal the barge, which he probably kept for his own use.

The name of the corporal was James Lurvey or Larvey (it is presumed Lurvey.) He belonged to the Massachusetts regiment, commanded by Rufus Putnam, and it is believed came from the county of Worcester, either from Brookfield or some neighbouring town.

The circumstances were related to me by Lurvey, who was well known to me, and confirmed by the other bargemen on their return in the old boat, who heard James make the reply to Arnold.

As an instance of virtue on the part of Lurvey, and as a cutting reproach on Arnold, I have always had a desire to see the anecdote on record. It is possible Lurvey may still be alive, in which case his evidence may afford more particulars than my recollection at this distance of time can supply. One of the bargemen by the name of Hawkes belonged to the same district with Lurvey, but from the state of his health at the time it is doubtful whether he is alive.

According to your request I have stated the principal fact, and am with respect,

Dear Sir,

your obedient servant,

Dr. R. WEBSTER.

W. EUSTIS.

Within a very few years the Rolls of the Revolutionary soldiers preserved among the Massachusetts Archives at the State House have been carefully indexed; and it is easy now to trace the military history of the men whose names are there recorded. From this source I have gathered various references to Lurvey, from which a skeleton of his army service can be put together. In these days of patriotic societies, made up of

the Sons and the Daughters, etc., such facts are always welcome. It is evident that Dr. Eustis was wrong in his impression that the soldier came from Brookfield or any other town of that neighborhood, as the records show that he belonged in Gloucester. In detailing men to row a boat, it was very natural to take a coxswain who came from the seacoast, and one who would know how to manage a crew or to pull an oar.

James Lurvey's name first appears on a Muster Roll as having enlisted on May 29, 1775, in Captain Rowe's company, Colonel Bridge's regiment; and then on the Coat Roll of eight months' service. Again, he appears as a corporal in a Return of Captain Benjamin Gates's company, Colonel Putnam's regiment, dated at Albany, on February 9, 1778; and later, in a "Pay Account," as a corporal in Captain Gardner's company, Colonel Putnam's regiment, from March 4, 1777, to December 31, 1779. The name is found, also, in a "Pay Account" for the year 1780, where he is still recorded as a corporal. It is found, again, in "A Return of the Men belonging to the Town of Gloucester Jan^y 1781 in the Continental Army for 3 Years or During the War," as a sergeant in Captain Killam's company, Fifth Massachusetts regiment (Colonel Putnam's).

Our late associate Mr. Babson, in his History of Gloucester (p. 596), says that Lurvey was a private in Captain Rowe's company at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Furthermore, there was a John Hawks serving in a Massachusetts regiment, whose residence, according to one roll, was Falmouth (Portland), and, according to another, Casco Bay; and, presumably, he was the bargeman alluded to by Dr. Eustis as coming from the same district as Lurvey, though this statement would be true only in a very general way.

These several references to James Lurvey show clearly that he came from Gloucester, and not from any town in Worcester County. In his day and generation he may have been an obscure individual, but he was true to his country. Like many other patriots of the Revolution, he has long been forgotten, and the act has passed out of mind. The purpose of these remarks is to rescue his name from undeserved oblivion, and to place it in the list of those whose memory is fondly cherished by his countrymen.

ALBERT B. HART, Ph.D., expressed a hope that the American Historical Association would hold its annual meeting next year in Boston, and offered the following vote, which on the suggestion of the President was referred to the Council :

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society cordially invites the American Historical Association to hold its annual meeting in December, 1899, in Boston; and offers its new building as a place for holding the sessions of the Association.

The President expressed the gratification of the Society at the presence of J. F. Jameson, LL.D., recently elected a Corresponding Member, and referring to the useful work done by him as head of the Historical Manuscripts Commission established by the American Historical Association, asked him to give some account of his efforts to obtain traces of the manuscripts of John C. Calhoun. Mr. JAMESON said : —

I have great pleasure in being present for the first time at one of the meetings of this venerable and famous Society, and in expressing my thanks for the honor that has been done me in electing me a Corresponding Member. The Historical Manuscripts Commission, respecting a portion of whose work the President asks me to speak, was established by the American Historical Association, three years ago, with purposes nearly similar to those of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of England. It was felt that the Federal Government and the State Governments were likely, in course of time, to deal with the historical manuscripts that are in their possession, but that a special agency might properly be created for dealing with the great but scattered mass of historical manuscripts which are in private hands. It was not intended that it should conflict with any existing agencies, such as the historical societies, but that it should supplement them, dealing with manuscript materials for the history of the whole Union, or for a considerable portion of it, rather than with those which relate to the history of individual States, and which fall therefore more especially within the purview of local historical societies. The function of the Historical Manuscripts Commission was to collect information respecting

manuscripts in private hands and to prepare for publication some portion of them, which the American Historical Association should then put into print through the agency of the Government Printing Office.

Our first volume embraced a varied assortment of materials hitherto unprinted, because it was desired to make the intention and the scope of our work understood by as wide a circle of readers as possible, dwelling in various parts of the United States. The second report, now in press, is in character supplementary to the first. But from the beginning I have had it in mind that one of the most interesting tasks which the Commission might perform would be to make available to historical scholars those Calhoun manuscripts to which the President has alluded. The manuscripts of John C. Calhoun had been in my mind for several years before the Historical Manuscripts Commission was instituted. My attention had first been called to them by a passage in the beginning of Professor von Holst's "John C. Calhoun." He said virtually that he had not been able to get hold of Mr. Calhoun's unpublished correspondence; he rather implied that it did not matter much, because he could construct a satisfactory Calhoun without them, the records of the man's public life being ample. But he indicated that the papers had been in the hands of Mr. R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia. At the time I read the book, a dozen years ago, I lived in Baltimore. Through friends I entered into correspondence with the heir of Mr. Hunter, and finally traced the papers back into the hands of Mr. Clemson, Calhoun's son-in-law. Mr. Clemson kindly invited me to come to Fort Hill and examine the papers. I was unable to do so. Soon after, he died. The question of the property rights in these papers was for some time unsettled. I moved away from Baltimore, and thought little more of the papers until the creation of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Of late, their present possessors, the trustees of Clemson Agricultural College, acting through one of their number, Senator Tillman of South Carolina, have turned over to me the whole mass of Calhoun papers in their possession, and they are now in Providence, for use in the contemplated edition of Mr. Calhoun's correspondence. The letters written by Mr. Calhoun, embraced in this collection, number about four hundred, and there are about three thousand letters to him. The letters

from him are mostly addressed to members of his own family, but since some of these were persons of remarkable intelligence in respect to political affairs, they are much more valuable in this respect than is often the case with the family letters of deceased statesmen. This collection, however, is only the basis of the collection which I propose to make. The present representative of Mr. Calhoun's eldest son has promised me all the letters in his possession. Minor collections, some of them of considerable importance, have already begun to come in. Among these are the remains of the correspondence of Calhoun with Duff Green; an interesting series of letters that passed between him and Senator and Governor J. H. Hammond of South Carolina, for which I am indebted to Mr. Hammond's son; and a series of letters from Mr. Calhoun to Major C. Van Deventer, who was his chief clerk while he was Secretary of War, and was afterwards one of his active political supporters in the Middle States. Our President has been so kind as to promise me the use of any letters of Calhoun which may be found among the papers of John Quincy Adams, and I have assurances or hopes of a very general co-operation in various parts of the country. I believe that the compilation is already assured of a considerable degree of completeness, and I need not say that any collection of the letters of Mr. Calhoun, if it at all approaches completeness, must inevitably be of much interest to students of American history. I should be very greatly obliged if gentlemen present who possess, or who know persons who possess, letters of Calhoun, would be so kind as to inform me of the fact. The compilation will not be handed over to the American Historical Association and to the Government Printing Office until Christmas, 1899.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. ALBERT B. HART, WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, GEORGE B. CHASE, and CHARLES C. SMITH.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1898.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock P.M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street, the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the President reported informally from the Building Committee that good progress was making in the work on the Society's new building, and that the Society might reasonably hope to hold its March meeting in it.

Mr. John C. Ropes was appointed to fill the vacancy in the Committee on Historical Manuscripts, occasioned by the resignation of Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

I have to announce the death of Henry Lee, both in years and in seniority here, one of our oldest members ; and I am sure that, as I do so, many others will, like myself, feel a renewed sense of personal loss. I have asked President Eliot to attend our meeting to-day, to pay tribute to one whom he knew so well, and with whom he has been so long and so closely associated ; and I shall in a moment call upon him to do so. Meanwhile there are a few, a very few words I would say myself. I have known Colonel Lee forty years, — about half his life, — and ever since I was a young man just graduated from college, while even then he was already in his maturity. During the great war which shortly after followed, he was on the staff of Governor Andrew, and I was in the army ; so, to any one who remembers those eventful days, it is almost needless to say that I was more than once brought in contact with Colonel Lee ; for during the Rebellion Colonel Lee was devoted, in body as well as in soul, to those sent into the field from Massachusetts. On behalf of all such, he was incessant in labor, inexhaustible in kindness, overflowing with sympathy. Few indeed then were more largely helpful than he. When

the war at last came to a close, no one welcomed those returning from the camp more warmly, with larger hospitality and more open arms, than Henry Lee. Since then, through the lifetime of a generation, I have been associated with him, here and elsewhere, in many ways and on frequent occasions, and ever and always found him the same kindly, genial, large-hearted gentleman. Thus it was with a genuine sense of personal loss I heard of his not altogether unanticipated death.

It is good to carry into the future pleasant last recollections of those who are gone. I am free to say there are few ceremonials less pleasing to me, — I may go further and say there are few ceremonials more altogether unpleasing to me, — than that now much in vogue at obsequies, as funerals are sometimes called, when those present are lugubriously informed by a master of ceremonies that an opportunity will now be afforded to such of those present as may desire to take “a last look at our departed friend”; that last look, as it is termed, simply meaning that we are to go away with a cerebro-photographic picture indelibly impressed on the memory. It is a practice, in my judgment, more honored in the breach than in the observance; for I never yet have taken that last look of one lying thus in confined state, that I did not forever after see my old acquaintance, my once familiar friend perhaps, not as I had known him, in life and in health, but lying there, cold, white, and rigid, — confined, cribbed, confined, — a mere vacated tenement of clay. It is not thus I recall Henry Lee. It was at Commencement Day at Cambridge, on the 29th of June, I saw him last, and I shall always see him and think of him as he stood that bright midsummer day, a white-haired, handsome, courteous old man, in sufficient health and the full enjoyment of the measure of strength meet for his years, to receive the acclamations and plaudits of the alumni, as a son who had deserved well of the Alma Mater. That day he wore his laurel wreath; and he wore it gracefully, and it gladdened him. I next remember and see him in the early days of his decline, when I first heard that he was suffering from an illness the recovery from which was ominously slow. I rode out to call upon him at his place in Brookline, one warm day of the later spring; and as I approached his house, he was seated on the porch with Mrs. Lee. He was enjoying the first soft breath of the coming summer, and there was something in his surround-

ings and his attitude which was suggestive of that to me always most pleasing and attractive full-length portrait by Sully of Colonel Thomas Handasyd Perkins, which hangs in the vestibule just outside the room in which we now are. It is the portrait of a man in the decline of life, but yet one who, though the shadows have grown long, feels the kindly sun yet lighting up his face, while the balmy summer air lends a physical enjoyment to what remains of life. So Colonel Lee impressed me on that occasion as he sat before his door in the long May afternoon, — cheerful, enjoying existence still, courteous as always, a prosperous gentleman to the end ; and so I shall always remember him now that he has gone before.

It is not always easy to say what is meant, or what truth there may at bottom be in it, when it is so commonly asserted that this or the other man has been successful in life. It all depends upon what is meant by success. But, by whatever standard judged, I think it will not be denied that Colonel Lee was a successful man. He passed a long life in the city in which he was born, and to which he was devotedly attached. From the beginning to the end there were few in that city more useful to it, or more respected than he. During that long life he saw a family of children grow up around him, and he moved freely and easily in a society in which he was regarded, and in which he loved to move. He accumulated an ample property. Yet all these things might be so, and a man not have led a really successful life. The great question, as I look at the problem, is not what a man does or has done, but whether, in doing it, he, when all is told, got what he wanted, and so draws on towards the end with a feeling of satisfaction in having lived his life. A man may be a success politically, and yet look back on a career of weariness, and vexation of spirit and flesh, — the last prize, perhaps, as in the case of Mr. Webster, having eluded his grasp. He may accumulate wealth ; and yet repine at the end, having sadly learned that what he really yearned for was literary or political reputation, and that he had not tried to get. The question of success thus turns rather upon a man's natural aptitude for the part in which fate or his own choice may have cast him. If at the close he is able to review the whole field, and honestly say that he would like to live his life over again, whatever more or less he may have done, that man

must be considered as having had a successful life ; and this, I fancy, Colonel Lee would have said. If, on the occasion I have referred to, when I met him on his porch in Brookline on that May afternoon, I had asked him whether then, nearing, as he manifestly was, the end, he would like to take his life from the beginning and live it all over once more, I am strongly inclined to believe he would have told me that he would take it all again just as it had passed. How many would say that? But Colonel Lee, I think, would have been disposed the day before he died to have uttered for himself the words Tennyson puts into the mouth of the husband of "The Miller's Daughter,"—

"Have I not found a happy earth?
I least should breathe a thought of pain.
Would God renew me from my birth
I'd almost live my life again."

It only remains for me to say that Colonel Lee was elected a member of our Society at its March meeting in 1878, a little over twenty years ago. Mr. Winthrop that day presided, but of those who took an active part in its proceedings, — Charles Deane, Richard Frothingham, the Rev. H. W. Foote, and Judge Hoar, — Edward E. Hale alone remains ; and, indeed, if my recollection serves me right, it was on the occasion of Judge Hoar's death, four years ago next month, that we last saw Colonel Lee at one of our meetings. He then attended to pay tribute to him. Though never an officer of the Society, or serving upon our standing committees, or even a member of the Council, Colonel Lee was yet a constant attendant at our meetings, and took a deep interest in what passed at them. He was one of those members we can ill afford to lose. A few years after his election to the Society, he read here an interesting paper on the Clark and Hutchinson houses in Boston, a subject of a class towards which his thoughts and inclination particularly ran, for he loved old houses and the traditions and associations of other days, and generations gone, that hang about them. At a later day he served on the Committee upon the Waters English researches, upon which he made a report. Again, in November, 1887, he gave us some interesting anecdotes relating to the trial of one of the Ursuline Convent rioters ; and he paid his tribute here upon the deaths of our associate members, Richard H. Dana, Charles Deane, Rev. H. W.

Foote, and Judge E. R. Hoar. He was an active member of our Society, and, as most here will remember, whenever, he being present, any question arose relating to the past history of the Commonwealth, especially that part of it connected with Federalist days and the politics of the early half of the century, Colonel Lee always started into animation with some out-of-the-way reminiscences or forgotten anecdote of a turn at once humorous and interesting. As I have said, he was a courteous, public-spirited, kind-hearted, free-handed gentleman, and his loss is universally deplored. The gap his death makes will prove one not easily filled.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D., having been called on, said : —

Colonel Henry Lee's bodily characteristics attracted at once an interested attention. He was erect, alert, and carefully and handsomely dressed, having a general aspect of cordial sympathy and good cheer, with a keen and mirthful eye, and a smile which went before the ready jest, the caustic criticism, or the humorous reproof. Towards men whom he considered worthy of respect, his manner was frank and kindly ; towards all women his manner expressed a gentle deference and an expectation of mutual liking. His bearing and address were always those of a cultivated and gallant gentleman.

He was fond of the old-fashioned recreations of the English country squire, — such as riding, driving, planting gardens and groves, building and furnishing handsome houses, and improving an estate ; but all these things he did with moderation and without waste or ostentation. He had real pleasure in devising and superintending the work of skilful mechanics, and in the ingenious utilities which such work produced. Thus he took satisfaction in perfecting the plans for the first safe-deposit vault built in Boston. The construction of the vault interested him as a well-considered and durable work, offering sure protection against both fire and violence.

In his prime he was much given to writing for the press on both national and domestic topics. Between 1855 and 1869 — a pregnant period — numerous articles from his pen were printed in the "Boston Daily Advertiser." To many of these articles he put his initials ; but all were recognizable by their strong sense, short sentences, and frequent quotations from

Shakespeare; for he was as fond of quoting Shakespeare as was his prototype in courtesy and loyalty, Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley. His impetuous and demonstrative nature made him ready to speak and write on any topic that interested him, and was the root of his great pleasure in seeing good acting and in taking part himself in private theatricals.

The same genial nature made his connection with Harvard College, where he graduated in 1836, a source of great enjoyment to him for all the rest of his long life. By choice of the alumni, he was a member of the Board of Overseers for thirty years; and many were the functions he discharged in the service of the University. The function he most thoroughly enjoyed was that of Chief Marshal at academic ceremonies. He held this post at the two most important celebrations held at Harvard University during this century, — namely, the commemoration in 1865 of the services of Harvard students and graduates in the Civil War, and the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the College in 1886. Nothing could exceed the pains he took to plan beforehand the march of the processions and the seating of the assemblages on such occasions. Every detail of distance, space, and time was laboriously studied beforehand; but when the day came there was no aspect of care or hard work in the countenance or the bearing of the Chief Marshal, but only confidence, pride, and welcoming delight.

In his business dealings he loved honor and hated baseness. He would promptly quarrel with any casual or habitual business associate who proposed to him any unworthy dealings, and a breach thus made would never be closed. If a man was once guilty of deliberate conduct which Henry Lee thought base, he lost forever Henry Lee's companionship or even recognition. Mr. Lee would never fully accept some men whom the community accepted as respectable, but whose business ethics did not commend themselves to his instinctive judgment. Neither public benefactions nor domestic virtues could reconcile him to men whose business career he held to be immoral, or even of a questionable ethical quality. He scorned humbug or pretence, and thoroughly detested eminent mental capacity used for selfish or harmful ends. Intellectual brilliancy only made moral obliquity worse in his eyes.

Henry Lee liked to preserve ancient landmarks and his-

torical sites and buildings, and believed in commemorating heroic persons, good deeds, and great events. He had a real delight in every human capacity for love and righteousness and in every righteous capacity for humane service; so he was apt to write for the press obituary notices of friends — both men and women — and of public men whose careers he valued. These notices were characterized by insight, tenderness, and loyalty. The building of the Harvard Memorial Hall was an object to which he, as Treasurer of the Building Fund, devoted with joy a great deal of time and labor. The saving of the Old South Meeting-House was another object which greatly interested him, and cost him much time and thought, for he was Treasurer of the Association for more than twenty years. The erection of the Shaw monument on Boston Common was another commemorative enterprise which touched the depths of his nature and commanded his eager support.

The Civil War indeed made an epoch in his life. He had the strongest admiration for Governor Andrew, on whose staff he served, seeing in him a man of the people, capable of immense labors, and inspired by pure and confident patriotism. His position on the Governor's Staff brought him into contact with hundreds of youth who sought commissions in the Massachusetts regiments; and he always felt the warmest interest in all the young men with whose going to the war he had had any connection, — in those who survived as well as in those who fell. Every such man he remembered as long as he lived, and never failed to recognize and to help, if ever help were needed.

Henry Lee was a constant supporter of the institutions of religion by both word and act. He was an habitual attendant at church, an admirer of good preaching, and a believer in the social and political efficacy of religious teaching. He recognized the fact that in the long run, and at the pinch, not interests, but sentiments or feelings, — that is, loves, hates, dreads, and aspirations, — control and impel democratic society as they always have aristocratic and autocratic society.

His love of God and of men grew out of his love of kindred, for family love with him included the generations earlier and later than his own. The greatest trials of his life were the deaths of three grown-up children. His devotion to a friend

in trouble was absolutely unwearying. Day after day, and year after year, for many years he brought a friend and neighbor who was dying by inches the comforting glow of his cheerful presence.

Henry Lee was happy in his long life, for he felt in full measure the infinite beauties, joys, and satisfactions this earth affords; but he kept himself unspotted from the world, and therefore he exerted throughout life a wholesome and uplifting influence in this community.

Mr. J. Elliot Cabot was appointed to write a memoir of Mr. Lee, for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. URIEL H. CROCKER said: —

I wish to say a word in relation to Mr. Hassam's paper on "The Early Recorders and Registers of Deeds for Suffolk County," which was read at the meeting in May last.

One of these "Early Recorders" was Mr. William Aspinwall, and Mr. Hassam gave a very full account of all ascertainable facts concerning Mr. Aspinwall, both as Recorder and otherwise. I was somewhat surprised, however, to find that Mr. Hassam had omitted to make mention of one important fact which I wish to mention at this time.

The matter to which I refer is the fact that Mr. Aspinwall was the compiler of the ancient book known as "The Book of Possessions of the Inhabitants of Boston," the greater part of which book is in his handwriting. This book, as most if not all of you know, gives a list of the owners of estates in Boston at a time very soon after its settlement, together with a short description of those estates, the streets on which they were located, and the names of the owners of the adjoining estates. This book is now in the custody of the City Clerk of Boston, and it has been printed at the expense of the city by the Record Commissioners. It has always been considered by conveyancers to be very valuable as giving an original starting-point for the examination of titles to estates situated in the older parts of the city. There was at first much doubt as to the time when the book was compiled and as to the name of its compiler, but some twenty years ago, when I was examining titles myself, I happened to discover that the greater part of this "Book of Possessions" was in the handwriting of Mr.

Aspinwall, and I made this fact known to the public in two communications to the "Boston Daily Advertiser," published in that paper on November 21 and December 15, 1877. This will account for my interest in the subject, and for my desire to supplement Mr. Hassam's very full account of Mr. Aspinwall's life and doings with this mention of his connection with the ancient "Book of Possessions." I should perhaps add that the "Record Commissioners," in the Introduction to the second edition of the "Book of Possessions," published in 1881, accept my conclusion that Mr. Aspinwall was the compiler of the principal part of this ancient and valuable book, and it seemed to me that in any account of the facts of Mr. Aspinwall's life this important fact should not be lost sight of.

Mr. JAMES SCHOULER spoke in substance as follows: —

I purpose making a brief statement on the "Cuban Situation in 1825." The inducement of these remarks is a political speech, elaborately prepared and delivered by a distinguished Senator of the United States on a recent occasion.¹ He states in substance that in 1825, when the great movement of the Spanish-American Revolution swept over South America, and set all those populations free, it halted at the shores of Cuba; that Bolivar was ready to invade that island and it would have been free without a substantial struggle; that the United States checked that wave of revolution, because it would wipe out slavery everywhere, and we were a slave power, and we made up our mind we would not free the black men in the island of Cuba; that for that reason we checked Mexico, we held back Bolivar, and we maintained black slavery in Cuba. More than that (so he adds), we fastened the yoke of Spain upon the island of Cuba, and then warned all other nations of the earth that they must never enter inside of that jurisdiction.²

It will be remembered that 1825 was the year when John Quincy Adams succeeded to Monroe's long Presidency of eight years; having been chosen by the House of Representatives, in default of an election of any candidate for President by a

¹ Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, at the Republican Convention in Boston, October 6, 1898.

² See also Schurz's *Henry Clay*, i. 270.

majority of votes in the electoral colleges. Adams had for eight years served as Monroe's Secretary of State, and he now called Henry Clay into the Cabinet to serve him in a similar capacity. This seems a singular statement to make of an era when the so-called "slave power" was dormant, to say the least, in national affairs; or to assert against an administration, singularly wise, high-minded, and generous, in managing foreign relations, and ruled by a President who of all statesmen in his time could least be charged with subserviency to slavery. I think it will appear, by a careful study of contemporary evidence, that the course taken by this administration on the Cuban question had for its motive, and the only important one, what might be just and reasonable at any time under our national circumstances.

It is admitted that our people had strongly sympathized with the Spanish-American Revolution to the South of us, which had now reached the stage where peace and a final settlement were desirable. Both Adams and Clay, as statesmen, — the one in the Cabinet and the other in Congress, — had strongly favored that recognition of independence by our Government which helped these struggling Republics to conquer their independence of Spain. In the famous Monroe message, which disconcerted the Holy Alliance of Europe in their plans to put down those colonial outbreaks, Adams as Secretary of State had borne an illustrious part. These new Republics were now free, and it was desirable that Spain should recognize that fact; but, so far as history makes us aware, Cuba and Porto Rico were islands still under Spain's sovereignty and indisposed to set up freedom for themselves. There were sufficient reasons why the United States should not wish them the scene of anarchy and turbulence from any further protraction of the war. To a final and conclusive settlement of the whole issue, such as should keep those islands from passing eventually into the hands of some other European power, the efforts of Adams's administration were accordingly directed. There was no intervention in any offensive sense; but the good offices and influence of the United States were directed in this conciliating direction, largely for the good of the parties to a long strife, and so as to save something to the pride of Spain, while her revolutionists gained all that belonged to themselves. The efforts thus directed in 1825 consisted first of an application to

the Emperor of Russia, as the head and front of the late Holy Alliance, and one whose influence with Spain and her legitimate ruler was well founded, to seek such a settlement; next, of instructions prepared for a Congress at Panama, which proved altogether an illusory gathering; and finally, of diplomatic correspondence with Spain and these self-established Republics to end war as it stood. I am not aware that warning was given to other nations of the world further than the already uttered Monroe doctrine might properly convey.

From American State Papers, Second Series, Vol. VI., I quote despatches of the State Department which bear on this important issue. Regarding the abortive Panama Congress which the United States failed to attend, though invited and intending to do so, Mr. Poinsett, our minister to Mexico, wrote Secretary Clay, September 23, 1826, that although the policy of subduing Cuba and Porto Rico by force was made a frequent topic of conversation at the isthmus, nothing decisive had been resolved upon nor put into writing. The project, he thinks, was not acted upon by the Spanish-American States, both because of the disfavor of the President of the United States, and the lack of funds for the enterprise (page 361). In this same volume (page 1006) may be read a confidential despatch, written January 20, 1826, by Mr. Alexander H. Everett, our minister to Spain, which reviewed this matter of a settlement between Spain and her late colonies at great length; following in the line of Clay's famous instructions sent to Russia. The whole argument of this despatch is to justify the United States in having recognized the Spanish-American Republics, and to persuade Spain to make peace and an honorable settlement. The United States, as he contends, have considered it their duty and their policy to employ their good offices from time to time with both parties for the humane purpose "of reconciling them to each other and bringing this prolonged and exhausting war to a close." Once more in this volume (page 794), we find more concisely expressed the instructions from our Department of State, April 27, 1825, defining the position and motives of this administration at its outset. Spain should wisely (so these instructions run) employ the means of retaining what she may yet preserve from the wreck of her former possessions, and not protract a war which is hopeless. For these new Republics themselves, their interest is probably to

continue such a war; but it is not so for Spain, for humanity, and the general repose of the world. Unless Spain makes speed, the danger is that these new Republics will strike wherever they can reach, and from the proximity and great value of Cuba and Porto Rico they will aim at them, and operating from without stimulate also the population within to revolt against Spanish authority. "And as the views and policy of the United States," continues Clay, "in regard to those islands may possibly have some influence, you are authorized, frankly and fully, to disclose them. The United States are satisfied with the present condition of those islands in the hands of Spain, and with their ports open to our commerce as they are now open. This government desires no political change of that condition. The population itself of the islands is incompetent, from its composition and its amount, to maintain self-government. The maritime force of the neighboring Republics of Mexico and Colombia is not now, nor is it likely to be, adequate to the protection of those islands, if the conquest of them were effected. The United States would entertain constant apprehension of their passing from their possession to that of some less friendly sovereignty; and of all the European powers, this country prefers that Cuba and Porto Rico should remain dependent on Spain." In all this is seen no suggestion of apprehension or interest by our government over the slavery results in Cuba, but a broad national ground for such mediating efforts.

Let us now turn to the President himself, John Quincy Adams, and the motives of his administration on the subject as explained by himself. In the famous Diary, — a remarkable work for historical reference during the long period of American political history with which it deals, — we find the President's own confidential testimony, as given to the Russian Minister at Washington on the 18th of May, 1825. This Diary, in its several volumes, has confuted Kings and Presidents; and every use made of it confirms the impression of its accuracy both in stating facts and in its clear expression of the illustrious statesman's own sincere and sturdy opinions. With regard to the instruction concerning Cuba to our minister at Russia, Mr. Middleton, he explains: —

"This has been sent, upon the special emergency of the times, since the annihilation of the Spanish force in Peru, from a full confidence

in the moderation and magnanimity of the Emperor, [of Russia] and from the conviction that his power might now be most efficaciously interposed to restore and preserve the peace of the world. It was apparent that the Spanish dominion was annihilated on the American continents. But Cuba still remained in her possession, and was a post of annoyance, both against Mexico and Colombia. Released from the necessity and occasion of employing their armed force upon their own territories, they must naturally look to Cuba as a stronghold of their enemy, an attack upon which by them was an essential part of their defence of themselves. But neither Mexico nor Colombia were desirous of achieving the conquest of Cuba, with a view of annexing it to themselves. From its situation, and the character of its population, it could only prove a useless and unsupportable burden to them. Neither were the United States desirous of making it a part of their confederation. But the island was at their doors; they could not suffer it to be transferred from Spain to any other European power, nor could they willingly see it conquered, either by Mexico or Colombia. These sentiments of ours were known to the governments of those two republics, and were not disapproved by them. We should dissuade them from the expedition against Cuba for the present. But we must treat with them as independent nations, and while Cuba and Porto Rico were held by Spain, as stations from which to organize expeditions against them, we can neither demand nor expect that they should abstain from hostile enterprises against those islands in their turn. Cuba was to the United States an object of paramount commercial importance. The capital employed in the trade was greater than that with all the dominions of France; the tonnage employed in it nearly equal to that with Great Britain. We were content that it should remain in its present condition, under the dominion of Spain, but enjoying a free trade with us. If the Emperor Alexander should present these considerations to Spain, founded as they are upon a most important interest of Spain herself, we cannot doubt that they would prove efficacious, by preserving to Spain two islands immensely valuable to her, by restoring general peace, and by accomplishing an arrangement adapted at once to the interests of all the European and all the American powers."¹

Here once more we find simply a national motive assigned for a national policy, and no suggestion of slavery as entering into our consideration of the matter.

When we understand the popular temper and prevailing ideas of any age and the public disposition towards the ends of government, we may assure ourselves that the government itself will pursue its ends, unless provoking strong opposition,

¹ John Quincy Adams's Diary, vii. 9.

consistently with such temper and opinion and not as disposed to work out the ideas of an earlier or later age. The year 1825 was not one of insurrectionary fears or aggressive direction on the part of slavery. It may be hard to prove a negative; yet I will venture to say that no responsible debate in Congress, no responsible foreign despatch, no responsible discussion before the public, can be produced to verify the assertions in the speech of the honorable Senator which are made the text of the present paper. It is right that motives shall be judged by the assertions of those conducting a national administration, unless proof be shown to the contrary.

It is further to be observed that the idea of an advancing wave of independence towards Cuba with Bolivar on the crest is imaginary. Bolivar's sphere, and a sufficient one, was South America. Mexico and Guatemala worked out their separate independence of Spain; and the prime object of the proposed Congress at Panama was to bring the new Republics on each side of the isthmus into mutual relations. For the expeditions (whose sufficient failure was the want of funds), Santa Anna would have invaded Cuba and Bolivar Porto Rico. Neither of these military chiefs was without clear limitations in point of character and fitness for such an enterprise. Neither was a liberator, more than incidentally, as regarded negro slavery; but each, like our great Washington, was intent upon freeing his own race and people from the yoke of the mother-country. The condition of slavery in Cuba was quite as problematical under any such conquest as under Spain. Of Santa Anna, with his wonderful vitality and energy under all vicissitudes, we learned something during the Mexican War, — and at the same time of his craft and insincerity. Nor was Bolivar to be implicitly trusted in a career of conquest. "The conduct of Bolivar," wrote John Quincy Adams not long after 1825, "has for many years been equivocal. As a military leader, his course has been despotic and sanguinary. His principles of government have been always monarchical, but for himself he has repeatedly played off the farce of renouncing his power and going into retirement. He still holds out this pretence, while at the same time he cannot disguise his hankering after a crown."¹ Bolivar's biographers, it is fair to add, have controverted the charge of ignoble ambition; but the opinion of him entertained

¹ John Quincy Adams's Diary, viii. 190.

by our President of the United States is the material issue in the present connection.

Professor GOODWIN spoke as follows of the American Colony at the University of Göttingen, from 1815 to 1898: —

On the 12th of November a dinner was given at the Metropolitan Club in New York, by Messrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Charles F. Chandler, and James D. Hague, to "Companions who were students at the Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen in 1855-56, with some of earlier and later dates." Fifty guests were invited, among whom the bounteous hospitality of the hosts included thirty-two who were not their companions in Göttingen in 1855-1856. Thirty-six, including the hosts, were present at the dinner. The *menu*, which bore the arms of Göttingen emblazoned in five colors, gave a connected history of the American Colony at Göttingen from 1815 to the present day, in its lists of names and dates and its other statistics. The earliest period of this history is of special interest to us. The first American, so far as is known, who ever studied at Göttingen, was Edward Everett, who was appointed the first Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University in 1815, and went immediately to Göttingen to prepare himself for his new work. He studied there two years, with Dissen for his private tutor, and he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1817. Two other well-remembered Americans studied at Göttingen with Everett, — George Ticknor, a graduate of Dartmouth, who was in Göttingen in 1815-1816, but did not take a degree, and Joseph Green Cogswell, who graduated at Harvard College in 1806, was tutor there in 1814-1815, went to Göttingen in 1816, and took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1819. George Bancroft graduated at Harvard in 1817, and went immediately to Göttingen, where he took his Doctor's degree in 1819. These four distinguished scholars all returned to Harvard College, where they held important positions, — Everett as Professor of Greek Literature (1815-1826), Ticknor as Professor of French, Spanish, and Belles-Lettres (1817-1835), Cogswell as Librarian (1821-1823), and Bancroft as Tutor (1822-1823).

The next American registered at Göttingen (according to the list) was Henry W. Longfellow, who was there in 1829.

He succeeded George Ticknor in the same Harvard professorship in 1836. John Lothrop Motley studied law in Göttingen in 1832, 1833, and took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Groningen.

The six distinguished men who have been mentioned, all of them intimately connected with Harvard College, and all except Cogswell members of our Society, appear to have been the only Americans who studied at Göttingen from 1815 until 1847. In the ten years from 1847 to 1857, if the New York list is complete, forty-four American students were registered there, of whom twenty-seven are now living and eighteen were present at the New York dinner. Of these forty-four, seven were graduates of Harvard College, and three of these were afterwards professors there. A large part of these visited also other German universities. Since 1857 there has been a steady succession of students from all parts of the United States to all the chief universities of Germany, including Göttingen, Berlin usually having the largest number. Of these later years there is, so far as I know, no complete published record.

While, therefore, the earlier movement of American scholars to Göttingen came chiefly from Harvard College, and most of its benefits accrued to that institution, the later and larger movement since 1847 has carried students from all parts of the United States to all the great German universities, and these have returned to supply our own institutions of learning with teachers who have made them acquainted with German scholarship and German methods of study. The later colony at Göttingen was founded in 1847 by Benjamin Apthorp Gould and George Martin Lane, who were soon joined by Francis James Child and Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve and others. The effect of this movement has been felt in almost all the universities in the land, especially in those which have established graduate schools for giving higher instruction to advanced students. Before this last step was taken, there was no body of students here to whom teaching of the high character which is familiar at the German universities could be offered with any advantage. The change which has been wrought in the higher instruction of many of our universities in this respect is just beginning to be understood. For example, the Harvard Graduate School now has 322 students, among whom are 46 who are or have been professors or in-

structors in universities or colleges, besides many others who have held high and responsible posts as masters of schools or directors of scientific institutions. It must be remembered that the whole body of undergraduates numbered only 273 in 1848, 409 in 1858, and 529 in 1868.

It is difficult now to ascertain how much Harvard College was affected in its methods of study by the return of Everett, Cogswell, Ticknor, and Bancroft within the five years 1817-1822. That they all returned full of enthusiasm for German learning and eager for reform at home cannot be doubted, especially since the publication of the letters written by the first three from Göttingen in the "Harvard Graduates' Magazine" for September, 1897, in an interesting article by T. W. Higginson.

Mr. Ticknor thus writes, May 20, 1816 :—

"I cannot, however, shut my eyes to the fact that one *very* important and principal cause of the difference between our University and the one here is the different value we affix to a good library, and the different ideas we have of what a good library is. In America we look on the Library at Cambridge as a wonder, and I am sure nobody ever had a more thorough veneration for it than I had ; but it was not necessary for me to be here six months to find out that it is nearly or quite half a century behind the libraries of Europe, and that it is much less remarkable that our stock of learning is so small than that it is so great, considering the means from which it is drawn are so inadequate. But what is worse than the absolute poverty of our collections of books is the relative inconsequence in which we keep them. We found new professorships and build new colleges in abundance, but we buy no books ; and yet it is to me the most obvious thing in the world that it would promote the cause of learning and the reputation of the University ten times more to give six thousand dollars a year to the Library than to found three professorships, and that it would have been wiser to have spent the whole sum that the new chapel had cost on books than on a fine suite of halls. . . . I cannot better explain to you the difference between our University in Cambridge and the one here than by telling you that here I hardly say too much when I say that it *consists* in the Library, and that in Cambridge the Library is one of the last things thought and talked about, — that here they have forty professors and more than two hundred thousand volumes to instruct them, and in Cambridge twenty professors and less than twenty thousand volumes."

Mr. Cogswell writes, July 13, 1817 :—

"But you will ask, Is Göttingen the only place for the acquisition of such learning? No, not the only, but I believe far the best for such learning as is necessary for Mr. Everett to fit him to make Cambridge in some degree a Göttingen, and render it no longer requisite to depend upon the latter for the formation of their scholars. It is true that very few of what the Germans call scholars are needed in America; if there would only be one thorough one to begin with, the number would soon be sufficient for all the uses which could be made of them, and for the literary character of the country. This one, I say, could never be formed there, because, in the first place, there is no one who knows how it is to be done; secondly, there are no books."

He had written, March 8, 1817:—

"I am not in the least Germanized, and yet it appalls me when I think of the difference between an education here and in America. The great evil with us is, in our primary schools the best years for learning are trifled and whiled away; boys learn nothing because they have no instructors, because we demand of one the full [work?] of ten, and because laziness is the first lesson which one gets in all our great schools."

Mr. Everett, being already a Harvard professor, writes less about the college, but expresses himself plainly about our schools. He writes, September 17, 1817:—

"I received this morning my diploma as Doctor of Philosophy of this University, the first American—and, as far as I know, Englishman—on whom it has ever been conferred. . . . Meanwhile, I try to feel duly grateful to Providence and my friends at home to whom I owe the opportunity of resorting to the famous fountains of European wisdom. The only painful feeling I carry with me is that I may not have health, or strength, or ability to fulfil the demands which such an opportunity will create and justify. More is apt to be expected in such cases than it is possible to perform; besides that, after the schoolmaster is prepared for his duty, all depends on whether the schoolboy is also prepared for his."

In speaking of "the steps we must take to create good schools," he says:—

"All we have are bad, the common reading and writing ones not excepted; but of schools we have to fit boys for college, I think the Boston Latin School and the Andover Academy are the only ones that deserve the name, and much I doubt if these deserve it."

The return of four such men to the academic society of Cambridge must have had a great and permanent influence

on the whole intellectual life of the place, which affected for good hundreds of students who never suspected the source of the new inspiration. Professor A. P. Peabody (of the Class of 1826) says of this period: —

“The leading feature of the College was the rich provision made for courses of lectures. It may be doubted whether so many lectures of an exceptionally high order have ever, at any one time, been brought together in the service of an American college. By far the largest part of our actual instruction was that of the lecture-room, where it was our custom to take copious notes, which were afterwards written out in full.”

Rev. William H. Furness (of the Class of 1820) once said to me, “Everett inspired us all with a *furor* for rhetoric”; and to this he often ascribed the high standard of pulpit eloquence in his generation. Emerson said of the same period: “Our class thought nothing of a man who did not have an enthusiasm for *something*.” The feeling of despair with which Ticknor wrote in 1823, six years after his return to Cambridge, shows how little had been accomplished in the way of actual reform: —

“The most that an instructor now undertakes is to ascertain, from day to day, whether the young men assembled in his presence have probably studied the lesson prescribed to them. . . . We are neither a University — which we call ourselves — nor a respectable High School, which we ought to be.”

The chief practical result of this infusion of new blood into the veins of old Harvard seems to have been the attempt at an elective system of study, which was made chiefly at the instigation of Professor Ticknor in the later years of President Kirkland's administration. This was doomed to failure at the outset, partly because it never had the sympathy of the Faculty as a whole, but chiefly because the finances of the college did not permit that extension of each department of study which is a necessary part of a true system of elective study. This assumes that the right to omit certain studies shall be balanced by the power to pursue these same studies or other studies much further than was possible under a required system. But this essential provision was impossible in those days. Dr. Walker's question hits the real point of

the matter: "Who supposes that the mere right of selection among a crowd of *elementary* studies will make a university?" Even this imperfect elective system did not have strength enough to survive the administration of President Quincy, though it did not wholly disappear until 1856.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. WILLIAM EVERETT, EDWARD J. YOUNG, SAMUEL A. GREEN, HENRY W. HAYNES, GEORGE B. CHASE, ALBERT B. HART, JAMES F. RHODES, and the PRESIDENT.

JANUARY MEETING, 1899.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the American Historical Association had accepted the invitation of this Society to hold its next annual meeting in the Society's new building, at the corner of Boylston Street and the Fenway.

The President communicated a recommendation from the Council that the second vote passed at the June meeting of the Society,¹ authorizing the appointment of a Committee on Historical Manuscripts, be amended by striking out the words "or other persons," and by inserting after the word "Corresponding" the words "or Honorary." The recommendation was adopted by a unanimous vote.

THE PRESIDENT then said:—

It is with more than usual regret that I have to announce the death of Clement H. Hill, for sixteen years a Resident Member. I shall presently call upon Mr. Lothrop, an old personal friend of Mr. Hill, to pay the customary tribute to him. I will content myself with saying that Mr. Hill was elected a member of the Society at the meeting of May 11, 1882; a meeting which probably other of the older members remember, as I do, the more distinctly because on that day Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes paid a remarkable tribute to Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose death had taken place within the preceding month. Even now, I vividly recall the phrases and even the modulations of voice which accompanied that, one of the most noticeable among the many noticeable tributes I have heard paid at the meetings of the Society to those gone before.

¹ See *ante*, p. 264.

During the early days of his membership we had reason to base no inconsiderable hopes upon Mr. Hill's connection with the Society. The following year, owing to that illness of the Secretary, Mr. George Dexter, which shortly after terminated a life of exceptional value to us, Mr. Hill was chosen to fill his place temporarily. Mr. Hill thus served as Secretary *pro tempore* until the Annual Meeting in 1883, when Mr. Dexter resigned, and Mr. Young was chosen to succeed him. Mr. Hill afterwards served on our committees, and took a more or less active part in our discussions during the meetings of the first few years of his membership. Subsequently, after serving upon the Council and on the Publishing Committee, his health became impaired, and, in November, 1889, he ceased from active participation in our work, resigning his place upon the Publishing Committee. Since that he has rarely been seen at our meetings, in consequence of frequent visits to England, although he has evinced, through correspondence, a more or less active interest in the Society's affairs. Two years ago he supplied us with an exceptionally good memoir of Mr. Choate, which appears in Volume XI. of our Second Series. At the time of his death he stood, as respects seniority, forty-second on our roll of membership.

MR. THORNTON K. LOTHROP, having been called on, said :

Clement Hugh Hill was the son of an English solicitor, who must have been also something of a philanthropist, for in 1840-41, when the friends of Oberlin College were in England to raise money for the purposes of that institution, then an advanced and radical place of learning, organized and conducted upon the principle of co-education of the sexes, they succeeded in persuading Mr. Hill to come with them to Oberlin as secretary and treasurer of the college. Here Clement Hill's early life was spent; later he went to Williams College, where he graduated in 1856 in the same class with President Garfield, and subsequently came to Boston to study law. It was after he entered, as a student, the office of Judge Hoar and Judge Gray, that he first became known to us here. He could have chosen for the study of his profession no better office than this, where he had the advantage of daily contact and association with two men whose legal learn-

ing and abilities were already recognized, and whose subsequent distinction at the bar and on the bench might easily have been predicted. While in their office Mr. Hill was a diligent student, and then and later did excellent work upon the Massachusetts Digest and in assisting the reporter, Mr. Gray, in the preparation of several of his volumes. He showed here also that capacity for historical work which he exhibited later in this Society; the table of the judges of the Superior Court of the Province, and of the Superior and Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, prefixed to the first volume of Bennett and Heard's Digest of the Massachusetts Reports, and copied in the later digests, was prepared by him.

He was admitted to the bar in 1859; in 1866 he was made Assistant Solicitor of the City of Boston; in 1870 he resigned this position upon his appointment as Assistant Attorney-General of the United States. This latter office he held for four years, and then, whether, as has been said, he showed too much zeal in pressing some cases which seemed to touch closely either prominent politicians or their supporters, or whether he commented too freely upon the administration which he was serving, — either for these, or for some other reasons in no way reflecting upon the fidelity, skill, and ability with which he had discharged the duties of his office, his resignation was requested, and he returned to Boston and resumed the practice of the law. Before his first appointment to office he had not been long enough at the bar to have acquired any large and valuable clientele, and during his eight years of official life, four of which had been passed in Washington, he had lost touch with the business community here; so that upon his return he was obliged to make a fresh start. His success was neither so great nor so rapid as from his ability and experience he might have had reason to expect.

Under these circumstances, when Judge John Lowell of the District Court was appointed Circuit Judge in 1878, Mr. Hill desired, and hoped not without reason, to be nominated to the vacant place in the District Court. The bar was not unanimous in his favor, and the failure to receive their hearty support both pained and disappointed him. As, however, the recommendations of the members of the bar have hitherto been of

no avail in securing the nomination of any lawyer to this place, unless he had also the endorsement of the senators from Massachusetts, it may be doubted whether the lawyers' cordial approval of Mr. Hill would have been of any avail unless he could have also secured this political support. It was the want of this, and not the hesitation of his legal brethren, that lost Mr. Hill the nomination to the bench. It would not, perhaps, be just to say that this disappointment embittered him, but it is unquestionable that it disheartened him and cast a shadow over the rest of his professional career, if not of his whole life. A little later he accepted the position of Clerk of that court in which he had aspired to be a judge. The death of a brother in 1887 left Mr. Hill with a competence sufficient for his needs, and a large part of his life afterward was spent abroad with a sister.

His best known and most successful work at the bar was that done by him as Assistant City Solicitor here and as Assistant Attorney-General of the United States at Washington. He was ambitious of distinction and of success, and very few men have held either of these offices who have brought themselves, while doing so, more conspicuously before the public. During his term as Assistant City Solicitor there was no case of importance for the city in which he did not take a part, and in which the interests of the city were not materially benefited by his labors and his legal learning. As Assistant Attorney-General of the United States he argued, either alone or with some other of the law officers of the government, substantially all the cases in which the United States was a party, or had any interest, which came before the court during his term of office. These cases covered a wide range, some of them requiring the application of nice and difficult distinctions, others involving the consideration of broad principles of law, of constitutional interpretation, and of matters lying upon the border line between jurisprudence and state policy. These varied questions Mr. Hill argued to the satisfaction of the government, and what was more important and a far better test of his ability and skill as a lawyer, to the satisfaction of the judges of the highest federal tribunal. To the court at Washington he was a *persona grata*, he was recognized as an able and well-equipped lawyer, and his relation with many of the judges was not merely a pleasant official connection, but

one of cordial esteem and friendship. These years at Washington were undoubtedly the happiest, as they were the most important, of his professional life. He worked hard, and in a way that he liked, having only to consider what was left of any case after it had been thoroughly winnowed and all the chaff driven out, and he knew that his work was fully recognized and appreciated.

Perhaps as a general practitioner he never would have had any marked success. He lacked tact, and his manner was not such as to attract clients. He was frank, outspoken, manly, and honest, and sometimes brusque and dogmatic; his notions of professional honor were strict, and he abhorred all trickery or chicane. He may possibly not have been sufficiently methodical and businesslike in his habits of work to have carried on any large general practice. It may be doubted whether the details of such a practice would not have bored instead of interesting him, and his best work was undoubtedly done in those cases where the questions raised were such as either appealed to him because of their legal difficulty, or because they touched some matter or subject in which he took an interest or as to which he had a decided opinion. Thus, for instance, he did excellent work in the litigation in 1862 and later as to the Price charity, in which he was interested both as a lawyer and a churchman, and from time to time contributed articles on various subjects to legal periodicals, notably an exhaustive criticism in the *American Law Review* for January, 1874, of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the well-known Dartmouth College case. He liked the discussion of broad questions of law; yet he was by no means averse to winning a case on a technical point, even where the technical rule seemed to bear hardly on the opposing party, for he had a firm belief that in the long run the ends of justice and the interests of society were best served by the strict enforcement of such technical rules as had been established as the result of deliberation and experience.

Of his services to this Society, this is not the time to speak. They are already known to many of us, and they may be further left to his biographer; but it would not be just to him to pass by some other of his prominent intellectual characteristics. He was a student of history, secular and ecclesiastical, fond of the reading and discussion of dogmatic theology,

interested in the great general questions of national growth and development, as well as in small details and personal anecdotes. He had a memory exceptionally accurate and retentive, which was of great service to him in the practice of his profession, as well as in his other pursuits; he was very familiar with the history of his native country, and was full of information as to the great governing and important families in England, their past and present representatives. It is said that once at a club a gentleman began to tell a story in Hill's presence, and suddenly stopped, saying, "The point of this story depends very much on the name of the duke to whom it happened, and I cannot at this moment recall his name." Whereupon Hill said, "We shall not lose the story on that account; there are only twenty-two English dukes. I will give you the names of them, and you will remember when we come to the one you want."

Underneath a husk of mannerism which seemed at times almost repellent, Hill was an amiable, good-natured, kindly person, a very warm, true, and devoted friend. He had certain peculiarities which differentiated him from the American, though he had lived here practically all his life, and which brought him occasionally into odd adventures and made him more or less the target for the good-natured jests and banter of his friends. He bore the jokes at his expense, occasionally with a grim countenance, but at bottom with good humor and real enjoyment. He was a man of strong religious feelings and convictions, a churchman, a vestryman of St. Paul's, at various times a delegate to the diocesan convention.

We had seen but little of him of late years. His last visit here was in 1896, when he wrote for us the memoir of Mr. Choate. He seemed then to have lost his elasticity and very much of his interest in life. It was without surprise that one heard later that he was in poor health and spirits; and yet it was with a shock that we learned of his death just a month ago to-day, the twelfth of December, 1898.

Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE said:—

The death of Clement Hill was a great shock to me; for, though others knew he was an invalid when last at home, I had noticed nothing wrong with him in the brief interval be-

tween my return to this country in the summer of '96 and Hill's departure for England in the autumn following.

There ended for me, with his death on the 12th of last month, a friendship which had lasted without a break, without even a harsh or cold word between us, for more than thirty-five years.

That he was a man of unusual powers of mind, never exerted to the full, I think must have been the feeling of any one who knew him well. Of his professional attainments Mr. Lothrop is more competent to speak, but I have been told that Mr. Justice Harlan was much impressed by Hill's fitness for judicial office. I know, too, that the great disappointment of his life was his failure to receive an appointment to the Federal Bench here for which he had been strongly recommended.

That he had his faults, as other men have, goes without saying; but such as they were, they seemed to be altogether faults of manner rather than of character. In general conversation at his club he sometimes lacked patience, — he was occasionally vehement in discussion, now and then disputatious; yet he remained withal a remarkably good and interesting talker.

He possessed one of the most retentive memories I have ever remarked. He had a great fund of anecdote, and he told a story well.

When at Washington, he came to know and to observe a considerable number of men in public life, and by reading, by study, and by his power of availing himself of the acquaintances he made in England, he had a very accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the varying currents of affairs, political and social, of the mother country, as he had of her leading men and of her history.

In this respect Hill seemed to me to resemble one or two observant Canadian statesmen whom I had the pleasure of knowing during the years of my residence at San Remo; and like them he seemed to be equally at home in discussing public men and politics, whether in England or in the United States.

But, Mr. President, there are others besides me who will mourn for Hill, and who will long remember him for the attaching qualities of his mind and heart. He was a kind-hearted, warm-hearted man, and, above all, he was a loyal friend.

I like to remember him where I knew him best, in the club

which was so long the home of his leisure hours. I can see him now, as he used to lie there half buried in an easy-chair, utterly absorbed in the pages of some review, or rising with that fine smile, yet shyly awkward manner, to greet the incoming friend; and I love to recall, what I feel sure some of you will remember,—his way when reading a book of memoirs, or perhaps a volume of our own Proceedings, of alternately cutting the leaves and glancing over them, and then stopping to chat upon some topic of interest in the page before him.

Though there were sometimes weeks in every year when I did not see my old friend, yet there were many others in the summer months when we dined often together at the club, and I think, I am indeed sure, that the few, who can now remember him at the long table in the old dining-room of the Union Club, will agree that, though it was his way to take the larger share of the table talk, he was rarely tiresome.

In speaking to you of the death of Colonel Lyman some months since, I alluded to the social ties of club life which united us; and I am reminded by the month and the year which sees us again assembled, that it is now sixteen or seventeen years since Hill and I asked two other men to join us, and we four men then asked four others, and so a club was formed to dine together monthly for half the year. Five of the eight members of that dinner club were members of this Society, and five members of the club are dead. Mr. Morse and myself and one other survive. Well may we mourn the vanished years, and the friends who have gone with them!

In a sympathetic notice of Hill which appeared in another place, allusion was made to his religious nature. In truth, no one could know him and fail to see that he was a very devout man.

I hope I shall not be deemed to transgress the limits which the customs of this Society impose, for this notice of Hill would be sadly imperfect if I failed to say that, like another member of this Society whom we lost last year,—I refer to Dr. Samuel Eliot,—Hill was deeply versed in the history of the Episcopal Church to which he belonged, and, like Dr. Eliot, was never backward when occasion arose of asserting to the full his abiding belief in the ancient authority of the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church.

Mr. Charles C. Smith was appointed to write a memoir of Mr. Hill for publication in the Proceedings.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated a paper as follows:—

At a meeting of the Historical Society, held on February 14, 1895, I gave a list of all books, pamphlets, and broadsides belonging to the Library, which were printed in the American colonies either before or during the year 1700, with a collation of the same; and the list duly appears in the Proceedings (second series, IX. 410–540) of that meeting. In the following autumn, at the Annual Meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, held in Worcester on October 23, 1895, Mr. Nathaniel Paine presented a similar list of all the early publications belonging to that Society, which was also printed in the Proceedings (new series, X. 281–350) of that meeting; though he gave a collation of those only which do not appear in my list. In the Historical Society's collection there are described 307 publications, and in the Antiquarian Society's there are described 156, of which none is a duplicate of any in the former list. To my paper I appended a description of six early titles found in my own library.

At a meeting of this Society, held on June 9, 1898, I gave some additional collations (second series, XII. 273–285), which include eight titles belonging to the Library, and fifteen broadsides found among the Massachusetts Archives at the State House. Another title, which has come into the Library within the past four months, is now added, of which the collation is as follows:—

1700.

The Everlasting Gospel. | — | The Gospel of | Justification | By the
| Righteousness of God; | As 'tis | Held and Preach'd in the
Churches | of New-England: Expressed in | a Brief Discourse on
that | Important Article; Made at Boston | in the Year, 1699.
| — | By Cotton Mather. | — | And, | Asserted with the Attestations,
of | several Reverend and Eminent | Persons, now most
con- | siderable in those | Churches. | — || Boston, Printed by
B. Green, and J. Allen, for | Nicholas Buttolph, and Sold at his
Shop | at the corner of Gutteridges Coffee- | House. 1700.
16mo. pp. (32), 76.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "The Memorable words of Luther, | before he Engaged in the | Reformation," fourteen lines between two lines of S-shaped border pieces; 15 pp. "The Dedication. | — | To the Reverend Ministers | Of the Gospel in | London, | Sometimes Honoured with the Name | of United Brethren. | Reverend, and Honoured Syrs," signed "Cotton Mather," headpiece a line of a variety of border pieces; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," headpiece a line of S-shaped border pieces; 9 pp. "To the Reader," signed "John Higginson," and dated "September 28. 1699," headpiece like the last; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Samuel Willard," headpiece like the last; 1-73, "The Everlasting | Gospel," headpiece, a variety of border pieces, at the end "Boston-Lecture: 27. d. 5. m. | and 24. d. 6. m. 1699"; "Finis" between two rules; headlines; 74-76, "Divine Hymns," headpiece a line of small border pieces.

I am led to make these remarks in recapitulation now, as within a short time I have gathered a few additional titles of early American imprints belonging to the John Carter Brown Library in Providence. This noted library contains by far the finest private collection of *Americana* in the country, and probably in existence. It is exceedingly rich in early printed books relating to America, and in those bearing early American imprints. Its collection of works printed in Mexico at a period long antedating the press in New England, considering the rarity of such books, is both choice and large. The library was begun by the late Mr. John Carter Brown, who for twenty years was a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society. For the generous use of its treasures on many occasions, Publishing Committees of the Society and other members have acknowledged their debt of courtesy to the owner. At the present time the library belongs to a son, Mr. John Nicholas Brown, also a Corresponding Member of the Society, who, inheriting his father's tastes, has kept up the traditions of the family, and is constantly adding to the noble collection. More than once I have been under great obligations to him for the use of rarities which could be found in no other library.

As instances of the extreme scarcity of some of the volumes in this remarkable collection, as well as of the liberality of the owner, I give extracts from two works well known to historical students.

Mr. Arthur Helps, author of "The Spanish Conquest in America" (London, 1857), in a footnote acknowledges the use of a rare book in the following words:—

Puga's Collection of Ordinances, printed in Mexico in 1563, in folio, is the earliest summary of Spanish colonial law, relating to the New World. It is a work of the highest rarity: there is not a copy known to exist in England. The one which I have made use of belongs to John Carter Brown, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island, in America, who kindly sent it over to his friend, Mr. Henry Stevens, in order that I might be permitted to consult it. As far as I have been able to judge, the American collectors of books are exceedingly liberal and courteous in the use of them, and seem really to understand what the object should be in forming a great library. (III. 127, 128.)

Vice-Admiral C. R. D. Bethune, editor of Galvano's Treatise which appeared as the thirtieth volume (London, 1862) of the "Works issued by the Hakluyt Society," says in his preface:

This valuable work is the property of an American gentleman, Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, who kindly permitted Mr. R. H. Major, of the British Museum, to have it copied; from this copy the Portuguese text has been printed. (Pages i, ii.)

At my request Mr. George Parker Winship, who is in immediate charge of the John Carter Brown Library, has kindly made for me a description of all the early American imprints in that famous collection which do not appear in the respective lists of the Historical Society and the Antiquarian Society, besides a description of two works in the Fiske-Harris collection of Brown University. These volumes number 18, and their collation adds materially to our bibliographical knowledge of early Colonial books.

In these several lists there are described 493 titles; and to this number should be added 18 other titles, described by Mr. Winship, and given below. The various collations, herein mentioned, amount to 511, and represent probably more than two-thirds of all the issues from the American press during the seventeenth century now extant. Some of these publications are unique, while others are supposed to be limited to a very few copies, and all are rare. The figures here given are subject to a very slight variation, as one or two titles may prove to have been printed in the mother country,

though the weight of authority seems to favor New England as the place of publication. In this paper the words "imprint" and "title" are used synonymously to designate the work, whether it be a book, pamphlet, or broadside.

1647.

The | Whole Book | of | Psalmes, | Faithfully translated into | English Metre: | Whereunto is prefixed a discourse, declaring not | onely the lawfulness, but also the necessity | of the heavenly Ordinance of sing- | ing Scripture Psalmes in the | Churches of God. | — | [Five lines from Col. iii. 16, and three lines from James v. 13] | — || Imprinted 1647. 16mo. pp. (14), 274.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 12 pp. "The Preface"; 1-274, text, headpiece a line of border pieces; 274, lower half, "An Admonition to the Reader" in seventeen lines.

A facsimile of the titlepage, by type, is given in the Catalogue of the Library (Part II. 1600-1700, p. 600), No. 1635, where it says that this is "A reprint of the first edition [of the Bay Psalm Book] without additions, but with some changes in spelling." This volume is the copy mentioned as No. 850 in the Brinley Catalogue (Part I. 115).

1664.

A | Discourse | of the last | Judgement: | or, | Short Notes upon Mat. XXV. | from Ver. 31. to the end of the | Chapter. | Concerning the Judgement to Come, and our Pre- | paration to stand before | The Great Judge of Quick and Dead. | Which are of sweetest Comfort to the Elect Sheep, | and of most dreadful Amazement and Terroure | to Reprobate Goats. | And do Concern All to think Seriously upon, that | they may look the Judge in the Face with | Comfort in the Great Day of His | Appearing. | — | By Samuel Whiting, Pastor of the | Church of Christ at Lynne in N. E. | — | [Three lines from Eccles. xii. 14, four lines from 2 Cor. v. 10, and two lines from Acts xxiv. 25.] | — || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1664. 16mo. pp. (14), 160.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 6 pp. "To | the Christian | Reader," signed "Samuel Whiting," headpiece two lines of border pieces, running headlines "The Epistle" and "To the Reader"; 6 pp. "To | the Reader," signed "John Wilson Senior," and "Jonathan Mitchell," headpiece, two lines of acorn-shaped border

pieces, headlines; 1-160, "A | Discourse | of the | Last Judgement, | on | Matth. 25. 31. to the end," headpiece a line of similar border pieces, running headlines.

1666.

Abraham's | Humble Intercession for Sodom, | and | The Lord's gracious Concessions | in Answer thereunto: | Containing sundry | Meditations | upon | Gen. XVIII. from Ver. XXIII. | to the end of the Chapter. | Wherein many things are spoken of concerning Be- | lievers drawing near to God, and the Efficacy of | their Prayers; and how they may be Princes and | Prevailers with God, and with what boldness they | may come before him, and what ground they may | get of him by their Prayers, and what sweet com- | muning they have with him. | With sundry other things worthy of our | most serious thoughts, helping us to be more Spi- | ritual and Heavenly, which may prepare us for that | everlasting Communion and Fellowship that we | hope to arrive at, and come to in a blessed state | of Glory by Jesus Christ. | — | By Samuel Whiting, Pastor | of the Church of Christ at Lyn in N. E. | — | [Three lines from James v. 16, and ii. 23.] | — || Printed and Sold at Cambridge. 1666. 16mo. pp. (8), 349, (1).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 6 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Samuel Whiting," headpiece a line of urn-shaped border pieces, headlines; 1-349, text, various headlines; 1 p. of Errata, "The Authors distance from the Press, and difficulty of the Copy, having occasioned the following Errata's;" . . . twelve lines, sixteen mistakes to be corrected or insertions to be made.

Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, makes the following references to these two titles: "Now our *Whiting* published a Volume of *Sermons* upon that Prayer of *Abraham*; wherein he does raise, confirm, and apply *Thirty two* Doctrines, which he offered unto the Publick (as he says in his Preface) *as the Words of a dying Man*; . . . But that which encouraged him unto this Publication, was the Acceptance which it had, before this, been found by another Treatise of his upon *The Day of Judgment* it self . . . and he has giuen us *Forty two Doctrines* thereupon, so handled as to suit the Edification of all Readers. The Notes are short, and but the concise Heads of what the Author prepared for his Weekly Exercises; nevertheless Mr. *Wilson*, and Mr. *Mitchel*, observe in their Preface thereunto: That the Reader by having *much in a little Room*,

is the better furnished with variety of Matter, worthy of *Meditation*, for want of which many a Man does digest little of what he reads. They say, 'It is a good Saying of one, *That the Reading of many diverse Heads, without some interlaced Meditation, is like eating of Marrow without Bread.* But he that shall take time to pause upon what he reads (where *great Truths* are but in *few Words* hinted at) with intermixed *Meditations* and *Ejaculations*, suitable to the Matter in hand, will find such Truths concisely delivered, to be like *Marrow and Fatness*, whereof a little does go far, and feed much' (Book III. 160).

The | Indian | Grammar | begun : or, | An Essay to bring the Indian Language | into | Rules, | For the Help of such as desire to Learn the same, for | the furtherance of the Gospel among them. | — | By John Eliot. | — | [Two lines from Isa. xxxiii. 19, two lines from Isa. lxvi. 18, two lines from Dan. vii. 14, one line from Psalms xix. 3, and two lines from Mal. iii. 11.] | — || Cambridge : | Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1666. 12mo. pp. (4), 65, (1).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank ; 2 pp. "To the Right Honourable, | Robert Boyle Esq ; | Governour : | With the rest of the Right Honourable and Christian | Corporation | For the Propagation of the Gospel unto | the Indians in New England," signed, "John Eliot," headpiece a line of fourteen urn-shaped border pieces ; 1-65, "The | Indian Grammar | Begun," headpiece a line of border pieces like those on titlepage ; 1 p. contains an explanation of "how I found out these new Wayes of Grammar, which no other Learned Language (so farre as I know) useth," headpiece a line of border pieces like the last.

Reprinted in the Collections (2d series, IX. 223-312, i-liv) with Introductory Observations by John Pickering, and Notes and Observations by Peter S. Du Ponceau ; and, taken from the Collections, it appeared also as a separate pamphlet (Boston, 1822). See Wilberforce Eames's "Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible" (pp. 46, 47) ; and Trumbull's "Books and Tracts in the Indian Language," in the Proceedings (page 51) of the American Antiquarian Society for October 21, 1873.

1676.

George Fox | Digg'd out of his | Burrovves, | Or an Offer of | Dispu-
tation | On fourteen Proposals made this last Summer 1672 (so
call'd) | unto G. Fox then present on Rode-Island | in New-
England, by R. W. | As also how (G. Fox slily departing) the
Disputation went on | being managed three dayes at Newport on
Rode-Island, and | one day at Providence, between John Stubs,
John Burnet, and | William Edmundson on the one part, and R. W.
on the other. | In which many Quotations out of G. Fox & Ed.
Burrowes Book | in Folio are alleadged. | with an | Apendix | Of
some scores of G. F. his simple lame Answers to his Oppo- | sites
in that Book, quoted and replyed to | By R. W. of Providence in
N. E. | — || Boston | Printed by John Foster, 1676. 8vo. pp.
(7), 208, 119.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To |
The Kings Majesty | Charles the IId: &c. | Whom the King of
Heaven long and | eternally Preserve," headpiece an ornamental scroll,
signed, "Roger Williams," and dated at "Providence in N-England,
March 10th. 167 $\frac{2}{3}$ (ut Vulgò)"; 2 pp. "To the People called
Quakers," signed, "R. W.," and dated as before, headpiece a line of
small border pieces; 1 p. "To those many Learned and Pious Men,
whom | G. Fox hath so sillily and scornfully answered | in his Book in
Folio | Especially to those whose Names I have been bold to mention
| in the Narrative and Apendix, | Mr Richard Baxter, Mr Iohn Owen
&c." signed and dated as before; 1 p. blank; 1-140, "A Narration of |
a Conference | or | Dispute, | This last August 1672 (so called) in the
| Colony of Rode-Island and Providence, Plantations in | N. Eng-
land, between Roger Williams of Providence, (who | Challenged G
Fox by writing (which followes) and all his | Friends then met on
Rode-Iland," . . . headpiece an ornamental scroll like the one first
mentioned, pages 130 to 135 incorrectly numbered 134, 135, 132, 133,
135, and 136; 1 p. blank; 141 (*verso* of blank page)-143, 145-208,
"Our Conferences and Disputes at | Providence upon the se- | ven
other Positions mentioned in my Pa- | per sent to G. Fox and his
Associates," headpiece a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, a rule, and
a line of similar pieces inverted, the count continuing correctly on page
145, page 201 misnumbered 101; 1-119 "An | Apendix | Or | Addi-
tion of Proofs unto my thirteenth Po- | sition, Viz." headpiece two
lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, has new set of signature
letters, and various misprints in the paging; *verso* of 119 blank.

On the titlepage is written: "Thomas Shepard's Book:
given me by y^e h^{ble} Jn^o Leveret, Governo^r of y^e Massachusets

30. 6. 77:”. This was reprinted in Volume V. of the “Publications of the Narragansett Club” (Providence, 1872), edited by J. Lewis Diman. A facsimile of the titlepage, by type, is given in the Catalogue of the Library (Part II. 1600–1700, p. 448), No. 1161. In the copy belonging to the Boston Athenæum the title begins “G. Fox.”

A Thankfull | Remembrance | of Gods Mercy | To several Persons at Quabaug or | Brookfield: | Partly in a Collection of Providences about them, | and Gracious Appearances for them: And partly in a | Sermon Preached By Mr. Edward Bulkley, | Pastor of the Church of Christ at Concord, upon a | day of Thanksgiving, kept by divers for their Wonder- | full Deliverance there. | — | Published by Capt. Thomas VVheeler. | — | [Five lines from Psalms cvii. 8, and cxi. 2.] | — || Cambridge, | Printed and Sold by Samuel Green 1676. 12mo. pp. (6), 10[14], 32.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 4 pp. “The Preface,” signed “Tho. Wheeler,” headpiece two lines of border pieces separated by a broken rule; 1–13, and 1 page numbered “10” by mistake for 14, “A | Trve Narrative | Of the Lords Providences in various dispen- | sations towards Captain Edward Hutchinson | of Boston and my self, and those that went | with us into the Nipmuck Country, and also | to Quabaug, alias Brookfield: The said Cap- | tain Hutchinson having a Commission from the | Honoured Council of this Colony to Treat with | several Sachems in those parts in order to the | publick peace, and my self being also ordered | by the said Council to accompany him with | part of my Troop for Security from any dan- | ger that might be from the Indians: and to | Assist him in the Transaction of matters com- | mitted to him,” headpiece a line of acorn-shaped border pieces; 1–32, “The Sernon” headpiece two lines of border pieces, and a broken rule below.

Reprinted with the heading “A True Narrative,” etc., both in the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society (II. 5–23), and also in Josiah H. Temple’s “History of North Brookfield” (pp. 80–89), probably from an imperfect copy.

1682.

A Poem | Dedicated to the Memory | of | The Reverend and Excellent | Mr. Vrian Oakes, | the late Pastor to Christ’s Flock, | and President of Harvard-Colledge, | in Cambridge, | Who was gathered to his People on 25 d 5 mo 1681. | In the fifty’tb Year of

his Age. | — | [Three lines from 1 Samuel xxv. 1.] | — | [Four lines Latin] || Boston in New-England, | Printed for John Ratcliff. 1682. 12mo. pp. (4), 16.

Titlepage, surrounded by a heavy black border line, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the | Reader"; 1-16, "Memoirs | of the Life and Worth: | Lamentations | for the Death, and Loss | of | the every way admirable | Mr. Vrian Oakes," in verse, signed "N. R."; 16, quotations in Latin, eleven lines, and Advertisement given below, headpiece a heavy rule: —

Advertisement.

There is to be sold by *John Browning*, at | the Corner of the *Prison-Lane* next the | Tovvn-House, a Sermon of the late Reverend | Mr. VRIAN OAKES, preached from *Eccl.* 9. | 11. Shevving that *Fortune* and *Chance* are infalli- | bly determined by God: By vvhich alone, it | might appear that the *Elogyes* of him are not a vain | *Hyperbole*; but as it were, the *Eccho* of those Words | which his Works speak concerning Him.

This volume is in the Fiske-Harris collection belonging to the library of Brown University, and is the copy mentioned as No. 1195 in the Brinley Catalogue (Part I. 162). The Poem is given by Mr. Sibley, in his Harvard Graduates (III. 42), as Cotton Mather's first published work. The letters "N. R.," subscribed to the Poem, are the last letters of his name. "N. Mather" is written near the bottom of page 16. The sermon referred to in the Advertisement is "A Seasonable Discourse . . . Delivered on a Publick Fast, at Cambridge."

1685.

An | Elegy | On The Much-to-be-deplored Death | Of That Never-to-be-forgotten Person, | The Reverend | Mr. Nathanael Collins; | Who After he had been many years a faithful | Pastor to the Church at Middletown of | Connecticut in New-England, | about the Forty third year of his Age Expired; | On 28th. 10. moneth 1684. | — | [Three lines of Latin.] | — | [One line of Latin.] | — || Boston in New-England | Printed by Richard Pierce for Obadiah Gill. | Anno Christi 1685. 16mo. pp. (4), 20 [19].

Titlepage, surrounded by a heavy border line, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Reader;" signed "C. M.," headpiece a heavy black line, headline on the second page; 1-16, 18-20, "Funeral-Tears | At the Grave of The much Desired | And Lamented | Mr. Nathaneel Collins? | Who

changed Death for Life, | December 28. 1684," in verse, the number 17 omitted in the paging, *verso* of the last leaf blank.

This volume is in the Fiske-Harris collection belonging to the library of Brown University, and is the copy mentioned as No. 1106 in the Brinley Catalogue (Part I. 151).

Good Order Established | in | Pennsilvania & New-Jersey | in | America, | Being a true Account of the Country; | With its Produce and Commodities there made. | And the great Improvements that may be made by | means of Publick Store-houses for Hemp, Flax and | Linnen-Cloth; also, the Advantages of a Publick- | School, the Profits of a Publick-Bank, and the Proba- | bility of its arising, if those directions here laid down are | followed. With the advantages of publick Granaries. | Likewise, several other things needful to be understood by | those that are or do intend to be concerned in planting in | the said Countries. | All which is laid down very plain, in this small Treatise; it | being easie to be understood by any ordinary Capacity. To | which the Reader is referred for his further satisfaction. | — | By Thomas Budd. | — || Printed in the Year 1685. 12mo. pp. 39, (1).

Titlepage, *verso*, dedicatory note, signed "Thomas Budd"; 3-29, text; 30, 31, "The Dying-Words of Ockanichon" . . . ; 32-36, text; 36, an apology for having "published in Print a Paper, dated the 13th of July, 1685. entitled *A true and perfect Account of the disposall of the one hundred Shares or Proprieties of the Province of West New-Jersey*, by Edward Bylling"; 37-39, a letter from Budd "sent to his Friends in Pennsilvania and New-Jersey," and dated at "London, the 29th of the 8th Month, 1684"; 1 p. "Some material Things omitted in the fore- | going part," at the bottom, four lines of Errata.

Printed by William Bradford in Philadelphia. Sixty copies were reprinted by William Gowans as "Gowans' Bibliotheca Americana. 4" (New York, 1865), with an Introduction and Notes by Edward Armstrong.

Manitowompae | Pomantamoonk | Sampwshanau | Christianoh | Uttoh wohan | Pomantog | Wnssikkitteahonat | God. | — | [Threelines from 1 Tim iv. 8.] | — || Cambridge. | Printed for the right Honorable Corperation in London | for the Gospelizing the Indians, in New-England. | 1685. 16mo. pp. 333[349], (2).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-288, 273-333, text, in Indian, headpiece two lines of ornamental border pieces,

smaller pieces and question marks used to fill out the line, headlines "Manitowompáe," *verso*, and "Pomantamoonk," *recto*, set off by a line above and below; 2 pp. Table of Contents, headpiece a line of small border pieces; *verso* of last leaf blank.

The name "Jno. Davis'" is written on the titlepage. A description of the work, with a facsimile of the titlepage is given by Wilberforce Eames in his "Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible" (pp. 45, 46). John Eliot, in a letter to Robert Boyle, dated at "Roxbury, August 29 1686, in the third month of our overthrow," and printed in the Collections (III. 187), says: "Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God; the bible is come forth, many hundreds bound up, and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can."

This is the second edition of Bishop Bayly's "Practice of Piety."

1690.

Speedy Repentance urged. | — | A | Sermon | Preached at Boston, Decemb. 29. 1689. | In the Hearing, and at the Request of | One Hugh Stone, | A Miserable Man | Under a just Sentence of Death, for a | Tragical and Horrible Mvrder. | Together with some Account concern- | ing the Character, Carriage, and | Execution of that Unhappy Ma- | lefactor. | To which are Added, certain Memorable | Providences Relating to some other Mur- | ders; & some great Instances of Repen- | tance which have been seen among us. | — | By Cotton Mather Pastor of a | Church in Boston. | — || Boston, Printed by Samuel Green, and | Sold by Joseph Browning at the corner | of the Prison Lane, and Benj. Harris | at the London Coffee House. 1690. 16mo. pp. (6), 87, (8), 15, (1), 75, 21, 40, (1), 14.

Titlepage, *verso*, six lines from "Anselm. in Med: "; 4 pp. "The | Introduction," headpiece two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, separated by a broken rule; 1-66, "The Sermon," headpiece, like the last, headlines; 67-80, "The | Character and Carriage | and Execution of | Hugh Stone," headpiece a line of border pieces, headlines on the *recto* in Roman type and on the *verso* in black letter;

81-87, "The Last Speech of Hugh Stone," headlines on the *recto* in black letter and on the *verso* in italic type; 1 p. blank; 2 pp. "To the Honourable Wait Winthrop Esq;" signed "C. Mather"; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Charles Morton, James Allen, Joshua Moodey, Samuel Willard"; 2 pp. "The Introduction"; 1-15, "To Contribute a little further into the | Design of this Book, I shall here | Annex Two Articles of Obser- | vations, extracted from an Hitherto-Reserv- | ed Collection of Memorable Provi- | dences. I have recorded them in such | Words (and the Rest in such Wayes) as | these," headpiece, two lines of border pieces; 1 p. Erratum, two lines, between two lines of similar border pieces, the lower one inverted; 1-41, "Witchcrafts and Possessions"; 42-44, Postscript, ending with "Finished, June 7th, 1689"; 45, "Mantissa," headpiece, two lines of border pieces; 46-53, text, signed, "John Goodwin, Decemb. 12. 1688"; 54-59, "Exemple. II."; 59-61, "Exemple. III."; 61-63, "Exemple. IV."; 63-64, "Exemple. V."; 64-71, "A Confession of a Boy at Tocutt; in the | time of the Intermission of his Fits: and | other Passages, which many | were Eye-witnesses of."; 72-75, "Exempée. VI. and VII."; 1-21, "A Discourse on the Power and Malice of the | Devils"; 1-40, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," headpiece, two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, separated by a rule, headlines; 1 p. "Notandum"; 1 p. blank; 1-14, "Appendix," headpiece two lines of border pieces.

The eight pages, which precede "Two Articles of Observation," apparently should follow it.

1692.

The | Christian Faith | Of the People of God, called in Scorn, | Quakers | In Rhode-Island (who are in Unity with all faithfull Brethren | of the same Profession in all parts of the World) | Vindicated | From the Calumnies of Christian Lodowick, that formerly | was of that Profession, but is lately fallen there-from. | As also from the base Forgeries, and wicked Slanders of | Cotton Mather, called a Minister, at Boston, who hath greatly | commended the said Christian Lodowick, and approved his false | Charges against us, and hath added thereunto many gross, | impudent and vile Calumnies against us and our Brethren, in his | late Address, so called, to some in New England, the which in | due time may receive a more full answer, to discover his Igno- | rance, Prejudice and Perversion against our Friends in gene- | ral, and G. K. in particular; whom he hath most unworthily | abused. | To which is added, some Testimonies of our Antient | Friends to the true

Christ of God; Collected out of their print- | ed Books, for the further Convincing of our Opposers, that it | is (and hath been) our constant and firm Belief to expect Salva- | tion by the Man Christ Jesus that was outwardly crucified without | the Gates of Jerusalem. | — || Printed and Sold by William Bradford at Philadelphia in Pennsylv- | ania, in the Year 1692. 12mo. pp. 16.

Titlepage, *verso* "Our Sincere Christian Belief is plainly asserted in the | following Particulars, viz." in eight paragraphs; 3-8, "The Christian Faith of the People of God | called Quakers, Vindicated from the | Calumnies of Christian Lodowick," signed "Edward Thurstan, Henry Bull, Anne Bull, Thomas Cornwall, Thomas Roadman, George Keith, Ebenezer Slocum, Joseph Nicholson, Daniel Gould, Jacob Mott, Walter Clark, Rob Hutchins, John Easton"; 9-16, "Here followeth some Testimonies Collected out of the Writings | of our Antient Friends, giving some account of their Faith | and Belief," signed, "Faithfully Collected, and Recommended to perusal, by Will. Bradford."

A | Vision | Concerning The | Mischievous Seperation | among | Friends | in | Old England | — | [Device formed of 17 border pieces] | — || Printed and Sold by Will. Bradford at | Philadelphia, 1692. 12mo. pp. 7.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 3-5, "A Vision," etc., signed, "G. F."; 5-7, "A General | Epistle | against | Seperation," dated at the end, "Bednell-Green, near London, the 25. 10. Mo. 1686."

Joseph Smith, in his "Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books" (II. 26), says that it was "Collected and arranged under this false title by George Keith, for an evil purpose, to pass off as George Fox's."

1693.

An | Account | of | Several Passages and Letters between his Excellency | Benjamin Fletcher, | Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Province of New-York, | Province of Pennsylvania, Country of New-Castle, &c. Commissionated | by their Majesties under the great Seal of England, to be their Lieut. | and Commander in chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea | and Land within their Majesties Collony of Connecticut, and of all the | Forts and places of Strength within the same. | And | The present Administrators of the Laws in the | Collony of Connecticut, in the Month of October, 1693. No titlepage. Folio, pp. 8.

Pages 1-8, text, signed, "A true Copy, Examined and allowed to be Printed, by M. Clarkson, Secretary"; Colophon, "Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties, King | William and Queen Mary, at the Bible in New-York, 1693."

New-England's Spirit of Persecution | Transmitted To | Pennsylvania,
| And the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the True |
Christian-Quaker, | in the | Tryal | of | Peter Boss, George
Keith, Thomas Budd, | and William Bradford, | At the Sessions
held at Philadelphia the Nineth, Tenth, and | Twelfth Days of
December, 1692. Giving an Account | of the most Arbitrary
Procedure of that Court. | — | — || Printed in the Year 1693.
12mo. pp. (1), 3s.

Titlepage, *verso* blank ; 1-3, "The Introduction," headpiece, a rule;
4-38, text.

Printed by William Bradford in Philadelphia ; and reprinted
as "The Tryals of Peter Boss," etc., of which the imprint is
"Printed first Beyond-Sea, and now Reprinted in London,
for | Richard Baldwin in Warwick- | lane. 1693."

1696.

The Christian Thank-Offering. | — | A Brief | Discourse | on | The
Returns of Gratitude & Obedience | Where to | Men are Obligated,
by the Mercies | of God. | Made | On a Solemn Thanksgiving,
kept | in a Private Meeting of Christians, | on the Occasion of
some Deliverances. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Six lines
from Herbert, page 98.] | — || Boston, in N. E. Printed by B.
Green, | & J. Allen, for Michael Perry, at his | Shop at the
Town-House. 1696. 16mo. pp. 32.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso*, "A Preparatory
Thanksgiving-Song, fetch'd | from the Beginning and Conclusion of
the | Hundred and Third Psalm."; 3-32, "The | Christian Thank-
Offering," headpiece a line of border pieces ; headlines.

This is the copy mentioned as No. 1082 in the Brinley Catalogue (Part I. 148). The name "Jerusha Mather" (a sister of Cotton) is written near the bottom of the titlepage.

1698.

A | Letter | From a | Gentleman | of the | City of New-York | To
 Another, | Concerning the Troubles which happen'd | in That
 Province in the Time of the late Happy | Revolution. | — | [De-
 vice, a collection of border pieces.] | — || Printed and Sold by
 William Bradford at the Sign of the | Bible in New-York, 1698.
 12mo. pp. 24.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 3-16, Letter, dated, "New York, December 31. 1697"; 17, 18, "The King's Letter," Whitehall, 30 July 1689; 13 [19]-21, "The Resolves of the House of Repre- | sentatives, &c.," of New York, 1691; 22-24, "An Address to his Excellency Collonel | Slaughter," and an Order in Council, regarding Jacob Leysler.

This tract is reprinted by Edmund Goldsmid, of Edinburgh, in his "Collectanea Adamantæa," No. 30.

1700.

The Resolved | Christian; | Pursuing the Designs of | Holiness and
 Happiness, | In Ordering, | First his own Heart and Life, and
 then | his Family. | With further Directions upon the | Great
 Points, | Of Spending our Time, & of Minding our End, | and |
 Of Behaving our selves well under all | our Tryals. | — | A Trea-
 tise that may be of use, to persons | of all Conditions, and Espe-
 cially to be | Read in Families. | — | [One line of Latin.] | — ||
 To be Sold by Nicholas Boone, at his Shop, | over against the
 Old Meeting-house | in Boston. 1700. 16mo. pp. (1), 128.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 1-64, "The | Good Mans Resolution," headpiece, two lines of border pieces, running headlines; 65-84, "Time discerned"; 85-105, "The tryed Christian. | A Discourse delivered, upon Recovery from | Sickness"; 106-128, "Life desired. | Vpon the Death of a Relation," running headlines with variations in spelling and capitalization.

This is the copy mentioned as No. 1213 in the Brinley Catalogue (Part I. 163). Mr. Sibley, in his Harvard Graduates (III. 73), refers to this work by Cotton Mather as follows: "Trumbull says 'This is identical—the title-page, and the omission of the errata and dedication excepted—with Small Offers,' etc. See No. 11."

In addition to these collations made by Mr. Winship, he has furnished me with a short account of some of the more impor-

tant works in Mr. Brown's library, which were printed at a very early period in Mexico, where a press was set up fully a century before one was in New England. Mr. Winship's account of its establishment in that country is highly interesting, and contains many facts not generally known. His letter is as follows:—

PROVIDENCE, December 24, 1898.

MY DEAR DR. GREEN,—The accompanying descriptions of eighteen books, printed in British America in the seventeenth century, which are not mentioned in your Lists nor in that of Mr. Paine, are taken from copies in the John Carter Brown Library or in the Harris Collection of American Poetry in the Brown University Library.

The earliest American imprint, — using the word in its more general sense, — in Mr. Brown's library is the *Doctrina Breue* of 1543-44, a religious manual prepared by Bishop Zumárraga, the first official head of the church in Mexico, "in plain language for the common people." The imprint of this volume reads: *Imp̃ssa ẽ la misma ciudad d' Mexico por su mãdado y a su costa. Año d' M. d. xliij*; "printed in Mexico by direction and at the expense of Bishop Zumárraga in 1543." This statement on the title is supplemented by the colophon, which says that the work was completed June 14, 1544: *Acabo se de imprimir a . xliij. dias del mes de Junio: del año de. M. d. quarẽ ta y q̃tro años*. The volume consists of eighty-four small quarto leaves, printed in gothic type.

S^r García Icazbalceta, in his admirable *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo xvi*, printed in Mexico in 1886, mentions three earlier American imprints, of which there is reason to suppose that copies are still in existence. The earliest of these was printed in Mexico in 1539, according to a very circumstantial description of the book in the well-known volume of *Cartas de Indias*, issued by the Spanish Government, from the office of the Ministerio de Fomento, in 1877, page 787. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of an original copy from which this description could have been taken, has been as yet successfully concealed or forgotten. Of the next earliest surviving product of the Mexican press, two leaves are all that are known. These clearly formed the end, the last three pages, of a *Manual de Adultos* printed in 1540. They have been reproduced in facsimile from the originals in the library of the late D. Pascual de Gayángos, in the privately printed *Introducción de la Imprenta en América*, translated by S^r M. R. Zarco del Valle from Harris's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. They are also given in S^r Icazbalceta's *Bibliografía*, from a photolithograph made by his son, S^r D. Luis García Pimentel, the present possessor of his magnificent library. The third is an account of the terrible

Guatemala earthquake of 1541, which was printed in Mexico very shortly after its occurrence. A copy of this is supposed to exist in Madrid.

The *Doctrina* printed in the spring of 1544 was the first of a series of tractates edited by Bishop Zumárraga, which were issued during that year. These works, each of which is in Mr. Brown's library, comprised the *Tripartito* of Dr. Juan Gerson, which contains the first woodcut known to have been printed, although not necessarily made, in America; the *Compendio Breve* of Dionisio Richel, in two editions, one of which is undated; and the *Doctrina Cristiana* of Fr. Pedro de Córdoba. During the succeeding years, additions were made to this series, and of these this library has the *Doctrina Cristiana* of 1546, and the *Regla Christiana Breve* of 1547. Two other books printed in America before 1550 are also represented here. One is a fragment of a work in the Mexican language, lacking both beginning and end, so that there is nothing except the internal evidence of type and press work to establish its date. S^r Icazbalceta assigned it, after careful examination and comparison, to the year 1548 or thereabouts. The other, of which no copy was known when the *Bibliografía* was published, is a *Copilacion breue de vn tratado de sant Buenauentura que se llama: Mistica theologia . . . impresso . . . Mexico: en casa de Juan pablos. Acabo se de imprimir a xxiiij. dias del mes de Hebrero. Año de nra saluació de. M. d. y quarenta y nueue años. (23 February 1549.)*

A dictionary of the Spanish and Mexican languages which was compiled by Fr. Alonso de Molina, and printed in 1555, is perhaps the best known of American *incunabula*. This work has long enjoyed a reputation for extreme rarity, and although a number of copies have appeared in auction and booksellers' catalogues, there is hardly one of these which is not described as showing all the signs of continued hard usage, resulting in the destruction of considerable portions of the original volumes. Only one complete copy has been reported, and this was made up from two imperfect copies. Mr. Brown's perfect copy is preserved in what appears to be a contemporary American binding of wood covered with decorated leather. The Molina Dictionary possesses much more than a mere bibliographic interest, in that it is the foundation for all study of the native speech of the Mexican aborigines. Of equal linguistic value, and of greater actual rarity, is the Dictionary in the Tarascan language of Michuacan, prepared by Fr. Maturino Gilberti and published in 1559. This Franciscan friar was one of the most productive and one of the most trustworthy of the early missionaries who devoted themselves to the study of the speech of the natives among whom they labored. The great rarity of his works is easily accounted for by the usage to which they must have been put by the pupils in the missionary colleges and schools for whom they were

printed. Mr. Brown has, besides the Dictionary of 1559, the *Arte de la lengua de Michuacû* and the *Thesoro Spiritval*, both printed in 1558, together with the enlarged edition of the latter published in 1575. He has also the *Dialogo de Doctrina*, a folio volume of some six hundred pages, the largest product from the shop of Mexico's first printer, who was engaged upon it during the first five months of 1559. This set of Gilberti's works is supplemented by three manuscript volumes, written by him, or by a scribe at his dictation, containing a portion of a dictionary in Tarascan and a number of sermons in that language.

The earliest American printed code of laws, the *Ordenanças y copilacion de leyes* published by "the good viceroy" D. Antonio de Mendoza in 1548, is represented by an edition which formed one of an interesting series of reprints of early works on Mexican history which were issued in the form of feuilletons with the Mexican newspaper *La Sistema Postal* during the spring of 1880. This code was followed in 1556 by the important *Constituciones del Arçobispado y prouincia de la muy ynsigne y muy leal ciudad de Tenuxtitllâ Mexico*, which concerned the populace almost as much as any purely civil ordinances. Puga's *Cedulario* or collection of royal orders directed to the government of New Spain, was printed in 1563. This volume is a most valuable source of materials for the study of the Spanish domination in America. Its aggravating omissions and blundering misprints in names and dates render it an unsafe reliance in studying the period preceding its appearance. During the succeeding decades, however, it was the standard handbook for the administrators and the legislators of Spanish Mexico, and their actions, except for such supplementary legislation as came to their attention, were based upon its pages. As so often happens, the fame of this volume and its reputed rarity have led to the discovery of a considerable number of copies of the original edition.

The most splendid product of the Mexican press, a volume whose pre-eminence has been challenged only two or three times during the three and a half centuries which have passed since its publication, is the *Missale Romanum Ordinarium*, printed in the city of Mexico in 1561. It is a magnificent folio volume of 330 leaves, printed in red and black, with historiated initials and occasional woodcut borders, and the necessary musical notations.

The establishment of a printing press in America was determined upon, in all probability, at one of the frequent conferences held in Spain during the winter of 1533-34, between the viceroy-elect and the bishop-elect of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza and Fray Juan de Zumárraga. Negotiations were entered into with a leading Sevillian printer, Juan Cromberger, who agreed to organize a branch of his establishment in the city of Mexico. Type and press were selected and

shipped to Vera Cruz, most probably on the spring voyage of 1536. It is supposed that Juan Pablos, a native of Brescia in Lombardy, accompanied the outfit as Cromberger's representative, and that he took charge of the American branch of the business. He may have had with him as an assistant, Esteban Martin, whose name appears on the town records of Mexico as an applicant for citizenship in 1539, with the descriptive appellation "imprimidor." This is several years earlier than the first recorded mention of Pablos.

As soon as the press was in running order in the New World, it was found that the supply of paper brought from Spain was barely sufficient for the official circulars, announcements, and similar work of transient but instant importance. This is presumably the reason why one or possibly two religious manuals in the native language were the only productions, of sufficient size to be called books, which were printed prior to the surviving publications already mentioned. A similar difficulty, due to the distance from the source of supply, apparently arose during the printing of the *Missale* of 1561. An examination of different parts of that volume shows that the stock of red ink gave out while the volume was on the press, and rather than submit to the long delay before a fresh importation from Europe could arrive, the printer probably attempted to manufacture something which would supply the deficiency. This, at least, is the most plausible explanation of the noticeable deterioration and the varying quality of the red with which the later pages of the work were printed.

Juan Cromberger died in 1540, but his American establishment continued for four years to issue its works "from the house of Cromberger." In 1542, his heirs secured a renewal or an enrollment of their privileges, by which they were entitled to charge a quarter of a *real* for each printed sheet, and to receive an allowance of one hundred per cent upon all books imported from Europe, in consideration for the maintenance of their press in the New World. But the Mexican office, deprived of the oversight and direction of the Sevillian master printer, appears to have deteriorated to some extent in the years following his death. The prompt supply of paper from Europe was neglected, resulting in the temporary stoppage of the press in Mexico, and other signs show that the business suffered from the absence of active interested management. As a result of these circumstances, the heirs of Cromberger were induced to exchange their printing plant for other forms of American investment, and the type and press became the property of Juan Pablos. The negotiations must have lasted over three years, from the end of 1544, when Cromberger's name appeared for the last time in an American imprint, until 1548, when that of Pablos was used for the first time. In the interim, such books as the latter printed were published without the name of the printer.

For ten years Pablos, whose Italian name may have been Paoli, conducted the business without a rival. During this period he published twenty-five volumes which have survived to the present day. These included, besides the linguistic works used by the missionaries and their pupils, a number of treatises, among which were four very learned works from the pen of Fr. Alonso de la Vera Cruz, for use in the newly organized University of Mexico. One of these volumes, the Latin "Dialogues" written by Cervantes Salazar in 1554, which have been reprinted with a Spanish translation by S^r Icazbalceta, contains an extremely interesting description of the new University, as well as of other portions of the city of Mexico. In the colophon to another of his volumes, the *Constituciones del Arçobispado*, Pablos stated that this was "printed by Juan Pablos of Lombardy, the first printer in this large, magnificent and very loyal city of Mexico, 10 February 1556." This statement is the principal authority for supposing that Pablos came from Spain in 1536 in charge of Cromberger's establishment.

The publishing business seems to have been a profitable one, for in 1558 Antonio de Espinosa, a citizen of Mexico, presented himself before the Spanish court with a petition in which he begged that the exclusive privileges granted to Pablos by the Viceroy might be annulled, on the ground that this monopoly stifled competition and so prevented the Mexicans from securing as good work as might and should be done in the New World, and that the prices for printing were maintained at an excessive figure. Espinosa appears to have had friends at court, for an order was promptly issued in which the viceroy was directed to abolish the monopoly, declaring that the trade of printing should thenceforth remain free and open to anyone who desired to follow it, as was the case in Spain. Further instructions accompanied this order, directing the viceroy to provide a suitable estate for Espinosa, to include a town lot on which he could erect his printing house, and to assist him in any other ways which might advance the interests of the new establishment.

Espinosa's name and printer's mark appeared for the first time on a Latin grammar by P^e Gilberti printed in 1559, the work being a distinct improvement upon any of the productions of Pablos. This initial success was followed by a more serious undertaking, most admirably accomplished, the splendid *Missale Romanum*, which was completed in September, 1561. Espinosa continued for fifteen years to print many of the most interesting and most important works published in the New World.

The name of Pablos appeared for the last time on a book printed in 1560. Three years later, the type which he had used reappears on the pages of Puga's *Cedulario*, which was printed by Pedro Ocharte. Ocharte conducted this business for thirty years with considerable

success. After Espinosa retired, in 1575, Ocharte probably bought at least the most important portion of his stock, including the type and wood blocks used in the *Missale* of 1561, for these reappear in the *Psalterio* and the *Antiphonarium* printed by Ocharte in 1584 and 1589. During the last two years of the century, the business was transferred to his son, Melchior Ocharte, who moved the establishment to the Franciscan college at Tlaltelolco Mexico, where he continued to issue school books, religious tracts, and other approved publications, well into the seventeenth century.

Pedro Balli's name first appears as the printer of a book printed in 1574, the year preceding the retirement of Espinosa. His shop continued in active operation until 1600, the most important issues being linguistic works, none of which possess any especial typographic interest.

Italy furnished the first printer for South, as for North America. Antonio Ricardo of Turin, whose name at home may have been Ricciardi, set up a press in Mexico, next the Jesuit college of Saints Peter and Paul, during the year 1577. He printed one or two noteworthy volumes, but his time was chiefly occupied in providing text books for the pupils in the college under the supervision of their Jesuit instructors. Needless to say, almost none of these has survived. The two or three copies which are known have been brought to light since the publication of S^r Icazbalceta's *Bibliografía*, through the researches of Dr. Nicolás León, the Mexican student of this generation who most nearly succeeds to S^r Icazbalceta's position in the fields of bibliography and of history. In 1579, Ricardo removed his stock-in-trade to Peru, where he established at Lima the first American press outside of Mexico. I have been unable as yet to secure any good account of the works issued from his press or from those of his successors in the Southern Continent.

Trusting that I have answered your queries satisfactorily, I am

Very faithfully yours

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D.,
Massachusetts Historical Society,
Boston.

Since the foregoing paper was presented to the Society, I have availed myself of the opportunity to add a supplementary list gathered from various sources which have been carefully noted. These titles increase materially our present knowledge of early Colonial printing, now a subject of growing interest and importance.

In the library of the Boston Athenæum is a bound volume of "The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony" (1672), which contains at the end numerous Sessions laws, broadsides, etc., besides manuscript copies of early laws. The book once belonged to Elisha Hutchinson, grandfather of Governor Thomas Hutchinson; and the manuscript is probably his handwriting. See Collections (third series, VIII. 195) for an account of the volume. A description of these titles, so far as they have not been duplicated in preceding lists, is as follows:—

1674.

Orders, | Made at a | General Court | held at Boston January the 6th.
1673. | And Printed by their Order. | Edward Rawson Secret.
4to. 1 p.

Page 13, text, *verso* blank; headpiece, below the headline, a line of border pieces, and a line of similar pieces inverted; about admiralty cases, and allowance for "Posts"; "Finis" at the bottom.

1675.

[Order of the Council, August 30, 1675.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At a | Council | Held in Boston August the thirtieth 1675"; says, "The Covncil Iudg-ing it of Absolute necessity for the Security of the English, and the Indians that are in Amity with us, that they be Restrained their usual Commerce with the English, and hunting in the Woods, during the time of Hostility with those that are our Enemies; Do Order" that those Indians who are "Faithfull to the English, be confined to their several Plantations under written" [the places of the "Indians Resi-dencies," "Natick, Punquapaog, Nashoba, Wamesit and Hassani-mesit"]; further "that they so order the setting of their Wigwams that they may stand Compact in some one part of their Plantations"; "that none of them do presume to Travaile above one mile from the Center of such their dwellings, unless in Company of some English"; that they shall not "entertain any strange Indians, or receive any of our Enemies Plunder"; that "any Indian travelling or skulking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the limits abovenamed" "shall be captured or killed; further that any Indians "that belong to any other Plantations, they are to repair to some one of these" first mentioned; signed "By the Council Edward Rawson Secret."

1676.

[Order of the Council, April 4, 1676.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At a | Council | Held at Boston April the 4th. 1676"; order that "the Select Men in each Town shall immediately . . . apply themselves with all diligence to take a particular account of all Persons and Families so coming unto them," those who "are retired from out Towns into the nearer Towns, and there make their present abode"; requiring the selectmen to "be fully informed of their state and way of living, and how they dispose of themselves"; and "to take effectual care that the Incomers aforesaid settle themselves, or be by them settled in some orderly and diligent way of Employment and Government, especially single and younger persons, who are all of them hereby required to yield Obedience"; signed "By the Council | Edward Rawson Secr."

[Order of the General Court, May 3, 1676.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At a | General Covrt | Held at Boston May the 3d, 1676"; "For the preventing of Injustice, and Inequality in the discharge, and payment of Disbursements made by any particular persons, or Towns for the Carrying on this present Warr," it is ordered; "that a Committee shall be Chosen in each County, to Examine the Rates put upon all manner of things used or Expended for the Publick, and to View the particular Bills allowed by the Militia of each Town for Expences, until the first of this Instant"; and "the Committees abovesaid are hereby Ordered to Choose one man from among themselves, in every of the Countyes, who shall meet at Boston the first fourth day in July next, and bring with them the Accounts allowed and passed in the several Countyes," "whose Act . . . shall be a sufficient warrant for their allowance in payment of the County Rate. The names of the Committees are,

For Suffolke, Capt. Fisher, Deacon Parkes, Mr. Stoddard.

For Essex, Major Appleton, Mr. Bartholomew, Ens. Fuller.

For Middlesex, Capt. Hammond, Leiut. Johnson, Mr. Joseph Cook.

For Norfolke, Mr. Dalton, Ens. Buswil, Lieut. Brown.

For Hampshire, Capt. Holliock, Leiut. Clarke, Deacon Tilton."

Usual ending cut off.

[Order of the General Court, May 3, 1676.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At a | General Court | Held at Boston the 3^d. of May | 1676"; the "Court taking into Consideration the great Disappointment the Countrey hath suffred by reason of non-appearance of Souldiers Impressed for several expeditions: Do judge meet" that such persons shall pay fines, — "every

such Foot Souldier . . . four Pounds, and every Trooper . . . six Pounds," and if their neglect or refusal "be accompanied with Refractoriness, Reflection or Contempt upon Authority, such persons shall be punished with Death, or some other grievous punishment"; and require the "Committee of Militia in the several Towns" to take charge of the matter; the Council being given discretion to decide cases upon petition; signed "By the Court Edward Rawson Secr."

1677.

[Order of the Council, March 29, 1677.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At a Cour[t] | Held at Boston in | New-Engl[and] the 29th of March, [1677]"; "The Council being informed that se[veral] strange Indians, who have been in Hostility against us or have lived amongst such, are brought into this Jurisdiction, and bought by several persons, which causeth much trouble and fear to the Inhabitants where they reside, and may be of dangerous consequence, not only to the Towns where they live, but to the whole Jurisdiction, if not timely prevented"; do order "that what person soever . . . shall hereafter buy or keep above ten dayes after the publication hereof, any such Indian, Man or Woman already bought, above the age of twelve years, without allowance from Authority, shall besides the forfeit of such Indian or Indians, pay the fine of five pounds to the Treasurer of the Country"; signed "By the Council, Edward Rawson Secr'."

[Order of the Council, April 9, 1677.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At a Covncil | Held at Boston the 9th. of April, 1677"; "The Covncil being informed, that among other Evils that are prevailing among us, in this day of our Calamity, there is practised by some that vanity of Horse racing, for mony, or monyes worth, thereby occasioning much misspence of pretious time, and the drawing of many persons from the duty of their particular Callings, with the hazard of their Limbs and Lives"; do order the "practice in that kind" to be stopped "within four miles of any Town, or i[n] any Highway or Common Rode, on penalty of forfeiting twenty Shillings [a-]piece, nor shall any Game or run in that kind for any mony, or monyes wor[th] upon penalty of forfeiting Treble the value thereof, one half to the party i[n]forming, and the other half to the Treasury"; "Dated the ninth of April, 1[677] | By the Council | Edward Rawson Se[cr.]"; closely trimmed on the right-hand edge.

1678.

[Order of the Council, March 28, 1678.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page: "At a | Council | Held at Boston, March 28. 1678."; an order declaring that all persons who shall "henceforth presume to shoot off any Gun or Guns, charged with Bullet or Bullets, Swan, Goose, or other shot towards any Mark or place that the Militia in such Town or Towns have not appointed; or so near or into any House, Barn, Garden, Orchards or High-ways in any town or towns of this Jurisdiction, whereby any person or persons shall or may be killed, wounded or otherwise damaged . . . shall be liable to answer it" as murderers or otherwise; further that "where either they be Servants or Youths . . . Parents or masters shall be liable to make full and due satisfaction"; signed "By the Council, Edward Rawson Secr'."

Several | Laws and Orders | Made at the second Sessions of the | General Court | Held at Boston, October 2^d. 1678. | And published by their Order. | Edward Rawson Secr. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 61-64.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 61; 61-64, text, relating to the oath of allegiance, treason, military companies, clerk of the writs, and law of exportation; various headlines; "Finis" between two rules.

1679.

Several | Laws and Orders | Made at the first Sessions of the | General Court | Held at Boston, May 28. 1679, and published by their Order. | Edward Rawson Secretary. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 65-[68].

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 65; 65 and three unnumbered pages, text, relating to training days, size of bricks, fishing trade, book-debts, letters of attorney, listing troopers, building meeting houses, deserted towns and new plantations, and imposts.

Several | Laws and Orders | Made at the second Sessions of the | General Court | Holden at Boston Octob. 15. 1679. and Printed by their Order, | Edward Rawson Secr. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 69-72.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the first page; 69-72, text, page 70 misnumbered "69," relating to Sabbath breaking, new buildings in Boston, tythingmen, ordinary-keepers, military service, alarms, drummers, impost, verdict of jury, and weights and measures; various headlines.

1680.

Several | Laws and Orders | Made at a | General Court | Held at
Boston, February the 4th. 16⁷⁹₈₀. | Edward Rawson Secretary. No
titlepage. 4to. pp. 74-75.

First page blank; a cut of Colonial arms at the top of page 74;
74-75, text, relating to order for elections, captains' commissions,
and tythingmen; headlines; *verso* of page 75 blank.

Several | Laws and Orders | Made at the first Sessions of the | Gen-
eral Court | for | Elections | Held at Boston, May 19th. 1680. |
And published by their Order; | Edward Rawson, Secr'. No
titlepage. 4to. pp. 2.

First page blank; a cut of the Colonial arms at top of the second
page; 2 pp. text, relating to commissions, buildings, and standard for
measures; headlines; fourth page blank.

Several | Lavvs and Orders | Made at the second Sessions of | The
General Court | Held at Boston, Octob. 13. 1680. And Pub-
lished by their Order. | Edward Rawson Secr'. No titlepage.
4to. pp. 77-79.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 77; 77-79, text, re-
lating to masters of vessels, troopers, elections, rating of cattle, gagers,
and clerks of the writs; various headlines; *verso* of 79 blank.

1681.

[Order of the General Court, March 4, 1680.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page, "At a Sessions of
the | General Court | Held at Boston the 4th of March | 1680"; an
order, owing to a "misunderstanding of the Laws formerly made
against selling Arms and Ammunition to Indians," reviving "that
Law Tit. Indians, Sect. 2. strictly inhibiting all Persons from Giving,
Selling, Bartering directly or indirectly" the same; "Provided alwayes,
that it shall be lawful for our Commissioners of the Colonyes, for the
time being, by Note under their hands, to allow to our friend Indians,
for necessary use, small quantityes, not exceeding half a pound of
Powder to one man at one time, and proportionably Shot or Lead";
signed "By the Covrt, Edward Rawson Secr'."

Several | Lavvs and Orders | Made at the Several | General Courts |
Held in Boston in the Years 1680, 1681, | And Published by
their Order: | Edward Rawson Secretary. No titlepage. 4to.
pp. 87-92.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 87; 87-89, text, relating to troopers, rates on cattle, collections of rates and fines, loaf-bread bakers, judgments of the County Court, executions on estates, Indians; 89, 90, "February 15, 1681. | For the Satisfaction of | His Majesty | And the better Regulating of the Navigation and Trade | of this Jvrisdiction: | And in Pursuance of a Law made October the tenth One thousand six hundred | seventy seven, Referring thereunto"; 91, weights, and amendments to laws; various headlines; "Finis" below a line of border pieces.

1682.

[Order of the General Court, May 24, 1682.] Broadside. 12mo.

"At a | General Court | Held at Boston, May 24th 1682"; the "Court taking into consideration the frequent Exportation of our New England Coyne out of the Country, whereby Commerce and Trade is very much Obstructed; As an Expedient to keep Money in the Country"; do order "that all Pieces of Eight, as Pillar, Sevil, and Mexico Coyne, that are good Silver, shall pass amongst us as currant Money of New-England according to their weight in the present New-England Coyne"; signed "By the Court, | Edward Rawson Secr."

Several | Lavvs | Made at the second Session of the | General Court | Held at Boston, October 11. 1682. | And Printed by their Order, | Edward Rawson Secr'. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 93-96.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 93; 93-96, text, relating to mariners, attachments, idle persons, rate for pieces of eight, trading in the "Precincts of Canada or Accadye" without license, swine, damaged goods, land grants, and deeds of sale; various headlines.

An | Order | for regulating Constables Payments, | And for the Rating of Unimproved Lands; and Relating to | Troopers, Made at the second Session of the | General Covrt | Held at Boston, Octob. 11. 1682. | Edward Rawson Secr'. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 2.

First page blank; a cut of the Colonial arms at top of the second page; 2 pp. text; fourth page blank.

1683.

Several | Lavvs | made at the | General Court | Called and Held at Boston on the seventh of February. and | Continued by Adjournment to the thirty first of March 1683. | And by their Order Printed and Published; | By Edward Rawson Secretary. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 97-99.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 97; 97-99, text, relating to mines, Naval Office, trading with ships outside the harbor, freemen, and commissions; various headlines; *verso* of page 97 blank.

[Order of the General Court, May 16, 1683.] Broadside. 8vo.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of the page; "At a | General Court | Held at Boston May. 16. 1683."; "the Court Considering that Cattle are Rated to the Countrey at a greater value than they will yield from Man to Man"; do "Order, that henceforth all Neat Cattle" shall be rated, "Oxen at four years old and above," three pounds, "Cows and Steers at three years and above," forty shillings, "all of two years old," thirty shillings, "Yearlings," fifteen shillings, and "Swine at a year old," ten shillings; signed "By the Court | Edward Rawson Secr't."

Several | Laws | Made at the second sessions of the | General Court | Held at Boston October 10. 1683. And | Published by their Order: | Edward Rawson Secr. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 98, 99.

First page blank; a cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 98; 98, 99, text, relating to public charges, grammar and writing schools, innkeepers, and servants "by execution"; headlines; fourth page blank.

[Order of the General Court, November 7, 1683.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of the page; "At a Special | General Court | Held at Boston Novemb. 7. 1683"; the "Court being sensible of the Great Ruines in Boston by Fire, at sundry times, and hazard still of the same, by reason of the joyning and nearness of the Buildings: For the prevention of Damage and loss thereby for the future," do order that no building shall henceforth be "Erected and set up in Boston, except of Stone, or Brick, and covered with Slate or Tyle," on penalty of forfeiting one hundred pounds; "the Constables, and Grand-jury-men of the said Town, are to take care of the Execution of this Order"; further that the Selectmen are to settle the question of boundaries of lands of "such persons whose Houses have burnt down in the late Fires"; and "the Law Title New Buildings in Boston, made Octob. 15. 1679. is hereby Repealed respecting Buildings to be Erected"; signed "By the Court Edward Rawson Secr'."

1684.

[Order of the General Court, February 13, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$.] Broadside. 8vo.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of the page; "At a | General Court | on Adjournment, Held at Boston | Feb. 13 168 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; an order "for Incouragement to Build in Boston with Brick and Stone accord-

ing to a Law made the last Session ; As an Addition to the said Law " saying "that whosoever shall so Build, shall have liberty to set half his Partition-Wall in his Neighbours Ground, leaving Jagges in the Corners of such Walls, for the Neighbours to Adjoyn their Building to"; that the neighbor shall pay half when he builds; and that the Selectmen shall have power "to make Valuation, or lay out the Line between such Neighbours"; signed "By the Court, Edward Rawson Secr't."

Several | Laws and Orders | Made by the | General Court, | Held at Boston the 7th of May, 1684. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 100, 101.

First page blank ; a cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 100 ; 100, 101, text, relating to imposts, nuisances, executions, Major Robert Pike and his troopers, public notary seal, Benjamin Gerrish for officer of the port of Salem, and Nathaniel Clark for Newbury and Salisbury ; headlines ; *verso* of page 101 blank.

At a | General Court | Called by the Honourable Governour on His Receipt of His | Majesties Letter, to sit in Boston, July the 9th. 1684. When | they State there was Made and Passed the Law and Order fol- | lowing ; And by their Order Printed : | By the Court Edward Rawson Secr'. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 103-105.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 103 ; 103-105, text, relating to piracy and privateering, and houses of "publick Entertainment" ; various headlines ; *verso* of page 105 blank.

Several | Lavvs | made at the | General Court | Called to Sit, and Held at Boston, Sept. 10th. 1684. | And Published by their Order, | Edward Rawson. Secr. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 107-109.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 107 ; 107-109, text, relating to the law of attaints, and sizing of bricks ; various headlines ; *verso* of page 109 blank.

Several | Orders and Laws | Made at the Second Sessions of the | General Court | Held at Boston, Octob: 15th. 1684. And Printed by their | Order : | Edward Rawson Secr'. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 110, 111.

First page blank ; a cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 110 ; 110, 111, text, relating to Commissioners' power, executions, country debts, and wolves ; various headlines ; *verso* of page 111 blank.

1685.

[Order of the General Court, January 28, 1684.] Broadside. 4to. A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page ; "At a | General Court | Held at Boston, January 28. 1684" ; an order that any per-

son or persons may "Erect any small Building; Provided, it do not exceed eight Foot square, and seven Foot Studd, of Wood or Timber; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided they have the Approbation of the Select-men of said Town; signed "By the Court, | Edward Rawson, Secr'."

By the | Governour and Council | Assembled at Boston the 2^d. of April, 1685. | To all His Majesties Subjects within the Government of the | Massachvsets Colony. Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; a proclamation giving the information "that there is a Ship of about three Hundred Tonns that hath for some time been crusing on the Coast, between Martyns Vineyard and Cape Cod, without the Limits of this Colony, whereof Christopher Goffe is Captain, and one John Salter is Master," the same "deemed and vehemently suspected to have been Wickedly and Piratically taken from some of His Majesties Allies in the West Indies"; "Now that no Person or Persons may plead ignorance of His Majesties Proclamation, or of the Law Made and Published by the Governour and Company of this His Majesties Colony agreeable thereunto, bearing Date, July 9th. 1684"; it is required that any persons shall not "joyn themselves with said Goffe or his Company, nor to receive or conceal any of the Goods coming out of said Ship" or otherwise have any relation to them "contrary to said law"; signed "By Order, Edward Rawson, Secr'."

Several | Laws and Orders | Made by the | Governour and Company | Of the Massachvsets Bay in New-England | at the | General Court | Held at Boston, May 27th 1685. | As also at a General Court Held at Boston on | the 14th of October, 1685. | And Printed by Order, | Edward Rawson | Secretary. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 121-123.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 121; 121-123, text, relating to duties on imports, damage to fields, Treasurer's power, attachments and wills; various headlines; *verso* of page 123 blank.

1686.

By the | Governour and Company | Of the Massachvsets Bay in New-England | At a | General Court | Held at Boston, on Adjournment, Feb. 16th 1685. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 125, 126.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 125; "an Explanation of and Addition to the Law title Wills . . . And the Law Intituled An Addition to the Law title Wills, Made Octob. 14th 1685. is hereby Repealed"; signed "By the Court, Edward Rawson Secretary"; headlines.

The next two titles are also found in the Library of the Boston Athenæum, but they do not follow here in strict chronological order with the others, as it has been thought best to give all the titles in the bound volume by themselves.

1676.

[New Englands Crisis. Boston, 1676] No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 31.

Titlepage wanting, also first leaf, 4 pp. in all; 4 pp. and p. 9, "New Englands Crisis | — | The Prologue:", headpiece, four lines of border pieces, and a rule in the middle, the two lower ones inverted, and the two inner lines of smaller pieces; 10-21, "New-Englands Crisis"; 22, "A Supplement"; 22-26, "Marlburys Fate"; 26, 27, "The Town called Providence | Its Fate"; 27, 28, "Seaconk Plain Engagement"; 28, 29, "Seaconk or Rehoboths Fate"; 29, "Chelmsfords Fate," signed, "B. Thompson," 30, 31, "On | A Fortification | At Boston begun by Women. | Dux Fœmina Facti"; "Finis," between two rules; headlines, "New-Englands Crisis"; *verso* of page 31 blank; closely trimmed; printed probably by John Foster.

See Proceedings (second series, X. 269-273) of the Historical Society for an account of this pamphlet.

1699.

Mans | Self-Reflection | Is the Special Means to further his | Recovery from his | Apostasy | From | God. | Being the Subject of Two | Sermons, | From Psalm 119. Verse 59. | I thought on my ways, and turned my feet to | thy Testimonies | — | By James Allen, Teacher of the First Gathered Church in Boston. | — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen. 1699. | Sold at the Printing House. 16mo. pp. 28 [38].

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 3-6, "To His Excellency, | Richard, | Earl of Bellomont, | Baron of Coloony, in the Kingdom of | Ireland, Governour and Commander | in Chief of the Provinces of the | Massachusetts-Bay, New-York, and | New Hampshire | May it please Your Excellency," signed, "James Allen," headpiece, a line of a variety of border pieces; headlines; 7, 8, "To the | Reader. | Courteous Reader," signed "James Allen," headpiece, two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted; 9-28 [38], "Mans Self-Reflection, | Is the Special Means to further his Reco- | very from his | Apostasy | From | God," headpiece one line of border pieces like the first; "Finis" between two rules.

The six following titles are found in the Congregational Library, Boston, a collection of books rich in early New England literature. The librarian, Rev. William H. Cobb, D.D., has placed me under many obligations for his courtesies in my work.

1670 (?).

Christiane OOnoowae Sampooowaonk. | [Second column] The same in English. | A Christian Covenanting Confession. [Slightly imperfect.] 12mo. 1 p.

First column in Indian, the second in English, separated by a broken rule, each in two parts with a rule between; begins "Metahhawae Nœnamptam kah muttœœœ nus- | sampœwam. Rom. 10. 10," and in English "I Believe with my Heart, and Confess with my Mouth. Rom. 10 10," both followed by nine articles, numbered, having Scriptural references at the end of each one, all in English; below the rule in both parts a confession of faith in Christ, in five parts, numbered, 1 to 4 having Scriptural references in English as before; form of covenant, prepared for the use of Indian converts, in the fifth article, last mentioned, "For these causes, wee that dwell in thi[s] Towne called — are gladly willing to bin[d] our selves to God, to Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, so long as wee live. And also to bind our selves to each other, to meet together every Sabbath day (when it may be done[]) to doe all our Sabbath day Services, Prayers &c[.] according to the word of God, the holy Spirit of[f] God helping us. By this Gospel covenant, we do give our selve[s] and our Children to Jesus Christ, to walk wit[h] Him in Church Order, so long as we live"; a line of fine border pieces at the top; trimmed so closely on the right-hand edge that in some places a letter is lost at the end of a line; two lines torn off from the lower right-hand corner.

This sheet, supposed to be unique, was printed probably by Samuel Green at Cambridge between 1665 and 1675, and is a second edition. The text measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by nearly 5 in width. See Wilberforce Eames's "Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible" (page 6), for a facsimile reproduction of each edition. On a flyleaf at the end of the volume, in which this broadside is bound, are written the words: "Abijah Woods Book bought at Gov^r Gills Vandue 1805."

1689.

Brief | Explications | Of | Truth & Error ; | Very Necessary to be
thoroughly Vnderstood, before the Miserable | Breaches of the
Church of England can be Healed : | Or, | Labour | (In a time
of much Darkness and Church-breaking Error) | For a full and
clear Understanding of the Foundation of all true | Faith and
Obedience. | — | [Two hands pointing at each other.] | — ||
Printed in the Year, 1689. 12mo. pp. 8, 20, 4.

Pages 1-8, "Mr. Cotton Mather opposed by a Son of the Church," headpiece two lines of border pieces; 1 p. titlepage, given above, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "The Preface," headpiece a line of border pieces, similar to the first; 1-20, "Explication of the Doctrine: God in Christ bought all Mankind," headpiece two lines of border pieces, like the first, only the lower one inverted; 1-4, "Postscript"; new set of signature letters for second and third parts; each part ending with "Finis."

Near the top of the first page of this work, in the left-hand corner, is written "May. 18. 91," and in the right-hand corner, "Johannis Cottoni." The first and last parts may have been printed here, as they have the general appearance of New England typography. The middle part, or that bearing the title, was printed perhaps in England; and Cotton Mather may have had the other two parts printed here. The first part begins, "Sir, I have seen your Invitation to the Lords Supper and am grieved to see the Sacraments so much wronged," and ends, "Therefore for the discovery of them, I have adventured this Letter and the following brief Explications." Mather's "Companion to Communicants," which contains "Invitations to the Lords Supper," was printed in 1690; and unless there was an earlier edition, the first part of "Brief Explications" was printed after the second.

1690.

Errata. Slip.

This slip contains a list of Errata in seven lines, following the headline, and is found pasted on the last fly-leaf of a work entitled "The Principles of the Protestant Religion Maintained" (Boston, 1690).

1697.

A Dead Faith Anatomized | — | A | Discourse | On | The Nature,
and the Danger, | With the Deadly Symptoms | Of a | Dead
Faith | In those | Who profess the Faith of Christ. | — | By

Samuel Mather, | Pastor of the Church at Windsor, in the | Colony of Connecticut. | — | [One line of Latin.] | — || Boston in New England, | Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen. | 1697. 16mo. pp. 24, 96. [Imperfect.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of S-shaped border pieces, *verso* blank ; 3-24, "Preface," signed "Cotton Mather," headpiece a line of border pieces, two lines of stars, and another line of border pieces inverted ; 1-96, "A Dead Faith | Anatomized," headpiece a line of a variety of border pieces ; 97-108, wanting.

Near the top of the titlepage is written : " May. 5. 97 Ather-ton Mather ex dono authoris " ; on the flyleaf at the beginning : " Rebecka Mather her book ex dono authoris " ; and on the back of the titlepage : " Jemima Stoughton her book 1740. "

1699.

The Folly | Of | Sinning, | Opened & Applied, | In Two | Sermons, | Occasioned by the Condemnation | of one that was Executed at | Boston in New-England, on | November 17th. 1698. | — | By Increase Mather, Præsident of | Harvard Colledge in Cambridge, and | Preacher of the Gospel at Boston in N. E. | — | [Two lines from Rom. xvi. 19.] | — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, | for Michael Perry over against the Town | House, and Nicholas Buttolph at the cor- | ner of Gutteridges Coffee House. 1699. 16mo. pp. 95. [Imperfect.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank ; 3-48, " The | Folly | Of | Sinning | — | Sermon I, " pages 11-14, and 35-38 wanting, headpiece a line of a variety of border pieces ; 49-95, " Sermon II. | Proposition. II. " ; " The End, " at the bottom of page 95, followed by two lines of " Errata " ; headlines ; *verso* of page 95 blank.

Spiritual | Desertions | Discovered | and | Remedied. | Being | The Substance of divers Sermons | Preached for the help of dark | Souls, labouring under | Divine withdrawings. | — | By Samuel Willard, | Teacher of a Church in Boston. | — | [Four lines from Isaiah xxxv. 3, 4.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for | Michael Perry and Benjamin Eliot. 1699. 16mo. pp. 144.

Titlepage, *verso* blank ; 2 pp. " Reader, " signed " Who am, | Less than the least of | all Saints, | S. W., " headpiece a line of a variety of border pieces ; 5-144, " Spiritual | Desertions | Discovered and Remedied, " running headlines ; " Finis " between two rules.

The next three broadsides here described belong to our associate, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and are supposed to be unique specimens. Without any doubt they all were struck off either from the Cambridge or Boston press, but it may be a question whether the first sheet was printed at the time of Governor Winthrop's death. Probably the last two sheets were printed by John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston. See the Proceedings (XV. 395) of this Society for reference to these broadsides.

1649.

A | Funeral Elegie | (Written many years since) | On the Death of
the Memorable and truly Honourable | John Winthrope Esq: |
Governour of the Massachusetts Colony in N-England. | For the
space of 19 years, who died in the 63d. Year of his Age. March
26. 1649 Broadside. 4to.

Two columns in verse, separated by line of small border pieces, the whole surrounded by a heavy black border in four parts, the one at the top arched, a rule below the title; begins "You English Mattachusians all | Forbear sometime from sleeping," and ends "Friendly correct what is amiss, | Accept his love that did write this"; signed "Perciful Lowle."

Mr. Winthrop, in his "Life and Letters of John Winthrop" (II. 398, 399, 465), gives this Elegy in full, with some remarks wherein he says that the expression "written many years since," "seems to imply that it was not printed at the time of its composition." Percival Lowell, of Newbury, the writer of the lines, died on January 8, 1665.

1676.

A | Funeral Elegy | Vpon the Death of that Excellent and most
worthy Gentleman | John Winthrop Esq. | Late Governour of
his Majestyes Colony of Conecticot: | Who deceased April, 1676.
| Anagr. ^{John Winthrop,}
On Print Wo nih:

Two columns in verse, surrounded by a heavy black border in four parts, the one at the top rounded but of slightly different shape from that in the first broadside; begins as follows:—

L Et woe be printed nigh unto our Land,
Since that Jehovahs formidable hand
Hath been bereaving us this fatal year,
Of such a Star within our Hemisphere.

And ends in the second column; followed by "Accrosticon," in twelve lines, of which the two last are:—

Oh may this dismal loss ne'r be forgot,
Per Plimouth, Boston, and Conecticot

followed by the word "Epitaph," and four lines given below:—

Here lyes a None-such for all virtuous things.
Fittest to be discoursed of by Kings.

Mors omnibus communis

Finis.

The sheet bears the following indorsement: "For Major Fitz J^{no} Winthrop, his much Honord friend from yo^r humble serv^t Steph: Chester Wethersfield, July prim 1680." Perhaps Mr. Chester was the author of the Elegy. See Collections (sixth series, V. 7, 8) of this Society, for two letters from him, dated respectively at Weathersfield, April 7 and 17, 1677, which have probable allusions to these lines.

A | Funeral Tribute | To the Honourable Dust of that Most Charitable Christian, Vnbiassed Politician, | And unimitable Pyrotechnist | John Winthrope esq: | A Member of the Royal Society, & Governour of Conecticut Colony in | New-England. | Who expired in his Countreys Service, April. 6th. 1676.

Two columns in verse, separated by a double rule, the whole surrounded by a heavy black border in four parts, the one at the top heavier and arched on the lower side, a rule below the title; signed "B. Thompson."

According to "A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England . . . from March till August, 1676," in the John Carter Brown Library, being a letter written from Boston by N. S., this sheet was printed here before July 22. Without doubt it was issued from the press of John Foster, as at that period he was the only printer in Boston. See Proceedings (second series, X. 270, 271) of this Society.

The finest private collection of early American imprints in New England, after the John Carter Brown Library, belongs to Mr. Sumner Hollingsworth, of Boston. Among his rarities is a volume of fifteen pamphlets by Increase Mather, relating

to various subjects, and handsomely bound in goatskin. They are of old-fashioned quarto size, being 7 inches in height by $5\frac{3}{4}$ in width. All were printed either at Cambridge or Boston before the year 1681, and the binding is contemporary with that period. The book is sewed on hide thongs laced into the covers, and finished with blank tooling of dotted lines, a panel within a panel caught to the corners with similar lines, and ornamented at the ends of the centre panel with blank corner pieces.

Pasted on the back of the first titlepage in the volume is a manuscript list of the various pamphlets, in Cotton Mather's handwriting, giving very short titles of each one. Presumably this list once had been written on a flyleaf at the beginning of the book, and after a time the leaf had been torn out, and, in order to save the memorandum, it then was cut down and pasted on the *verso* of the titlepage. I am inclined to think that Cotton Mather, at the time two years out of college, made this collection of some of his father's writings, and had them bound together. With very few exceptions the volume contains all his father's publications issued here between the years 1673 and 1680 inclusive, and probably the missing ones could not readily be found.

In the arrangement of these pamphlets a negative fact crops out, which is worth noting. While it has not been known for a certainty what was the first Boston imprint, it is known that John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston, who began business here in 1675, issued from his press in that year two sermons by Increase Mather, which were preached with an interval of only five or six weeks in the time of their delivery. It has been supposed that the earlier one delivered was the earlier one printed; but on this point there is no direct evidence. These two sermons were "The Wicked mans Portion," preached "the 18th day of the 1 Moneth" (March 18, 1675), and "The Times of men are in the hand of God," preached "the 4th day of the 3^d Moneth 1675" (May 4, 1675). Both these sermons are bound up in the volume; and if the collection were made by Cotton Mather, as is supposed, he would have been very apt to place them in chronological order, as most of the others are so placed. In the arrangement the sermon entitled "The Wicked mans Portion" comes before the other, which at first sight seems to show

that this pamphlet was the earlier publication; and if so, it is the first work printed in Boston.

I have a strong feeling that the book was bound by Edmund Ranger, "Bookbinder in Boston," the only man of his calling whose name has come down to us from that particular period. Of course there were bookbinders here then, but they are not recorded as such. As early as August 7, 1637, the town records of Boston mention the sale of a shop to one Saunders, "a bookebynder." Ranger's name is found on three different titlepages, on one as a bookseller and bookbinder, and on the other two as a bookseller. The imprints are as follows: "Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, 1673. And Sold by Edmund Ranger Bookbinder in Boston" (on Increase Mather's *Wo to Drunkards*); "Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green, and sold by Edmund Ranger in Boston, 1678" (on Mather's *Pray for the Rising Generation*); and, "Boston, Printed by John Foster, and sold by Edmund Ranger, 1679" (on James Allin's *Serious Advice*, etc.). At that time Johnson, Green, and Foster were the only printers in the Colonies; and if Ranger sold their books, probably he also bound them. Mr. Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, speaks of him as a stationer.

From an examination of the several works in the volume, it is evident that Foster bought and used the type and border pieces that had belonged to Johnson, as the various fonts and styles in the two printing-offices are identical, or nearly so.

The following list gives the titles in brief, with the imprints in full, of the fifteen pamphlets found in the volume; and for the sake of convenience the titles are here numbered.

- | | |
|---|---|
| The Life and Death of . . . Mr. Richard Mather . . . Cambridge:
Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670. | 1 |
| The First Principles of New-England . . . Cambridge Printed by
Samuel Green, 1675. | 2 |
| A Discourse Concerning the Subject of Baptisme . . . Cambridge
Printed by Samuel Green 1675. | 3 |
| Wo to Drunkards. Two Sermons . . . Cambridge: Printed by Mar-
maduke Johnson. 1673. And Sold by Edmund Ranger Book-
binder in Boston. | 4 |
| The Day of Trouble is near. Two Sermons . . . Cambridge: Printed
by Marmaduke Johnson. 1674. | 5 |

- The Wicked mans Portion. Or a Sermon . . . Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1675. 6
- The Times of men are in the hand of God. Or a Sermon, . . . Boston, Printed by John Foster 1675. 7
- A Brief History of the VVarr with the Indians . . . Boston, Printed and Sold by John Foster over against the Sign of the Dove. 1676. 8
- An Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New-England . . . Boston Printed by John Foster: And are to be Sold over against the Dove. 1676. 9
- A Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New-England . . . Boston, Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. 10
- An Historical Discourse Concerning the Prevalency of Prayer . . . Boston; Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. 11
- Renewal of Covenant the great Duty . . . A Sermon . . . Boston; Printed by J. F. for Henry Phillips, and are to be sold at his Shop in the West end of the Town-house in Boston. 1677. 12
- Pray for the Rising Generation, or a Sermon . . . Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green, and sold by Edmund Ranger in Boston. 1678. 13
- The Divine Right of Infant-Baptisme . . . Boston, Printed by John Foster, in the Year 1680. 14
- Returning unto God the great concernment of a Covenant People . . . Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1680. 15

Below are the collations of two of these titles, which have not been hitherto described:—

1674.

The Day of Trouble is near. | — | Two | Sermons | Wherein is shewed,
 | What are the Signs of a Day of Trouble being near. | And particularly, | What reason there is for New-England to expect | A Day of Trouble. | Also what is to be done, that we may escape these things | which shall come to pass. | Preached (the 11th day of the 12th Month, 1673. being a day of | Humiliation | in one of the Churches in Boston. | — | By Increase Mather, Teacher of that Church. | — | [Two lines from Ezek. xxxiii. 7; three lines from Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, 8; two lines from Luke xxi. 28.] | — || Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1674. 12mo. (4), 31.

Titlepage surrounded by a double border line, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Vrian Oakes," headpiece a line of small border pieces, headline on the second page "To the Christian Reader";

1-31, "Ezek. 7. 7. | — The day of Trouble is near —," headpiece a line of border pieces, headlines; "Finis" between two rules; *verso* of page 31 blank.

Near the bottom of the titlepage is the autograph signature "Cottonus Matherus."

1677.

Renewal of Covenant the great Duty | incumbent on decaying or distressed | Chvrches. | — | A Sermon | Concerning Renewing of Covenant with God in Christ, | Preached at Dorchester in New-England, the 21. Day | of the 1. Moneth 1677. being a Day of | Humiliation | There, on that Occasion. | — | By Increase Mather, Teacher of | a Church in Boston. | — | [Three lines from Deut. xxix. 1; two lines from Jer. 1. 5] | — | [Eight lines of Latin.] | — || Boston; | Printed by J. F. for Henry Phillips, and are to be sold at his | Shop in the West end of the Town-house in Boston. 1677. 12mo. pp. (7), 21.

Titlepage, surrounded by a double border line, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Church of Christ in | Dorchester | Dearly Beloved in the Lord Jesus," signed "Yours in the Lord alwayes | Increase Mather," and dated "Boston, | 22d. of 3. Moneth, | 1677," headpiece, a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, headlines; 1 p. blank; 1-21, "Neh. 9. 38. And because of all this we | make a sure Covenant," ending on page 21 with a line "Tibi Domine"; *verso* of page 21 blank.

Mr. Hollingsworth is the owner of two copies of Eliot's Indian Bible (Cambridge, 1663). One of them is described by Mr. Eames, and in his list is numbered 29; but the other is not mentioned. There are several varieties of this edition of the Indian Bible, which vary from each other in the arrangement of the parts, or in some minor details. These variations are so slight that I have not given them in this list, but they are carefully noted in Mr. Eames's critical paper on the subject.

Beginning with the titles which belong to the Boston Athenæum, and including the Congregational Library, Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Hollingsworth, there are given in these later pages 45 collations. This number, added to that previously mentioned on page 382, makes a total of 556 titles described by Mr. Paine and myself.

LIST OF TITLES.

For general convenience and ready reference, the following list of shortened Titles, with the name of Authors and the year of Publication, is here given. It includes the various titles found in the paper submitted at the meeting on June 9, 1898, as well as in the present paper. As these titles have been mentioned in connection with the several libraries where they belong, it has been thought best to keep them together in this list, and not to separate them from such collections.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST, JUNE 9.

Massachusetts Historical Society.

Bulkeley, Gershom. The People's Right to Election . . .	1689
Cambridge Platform. A Platform of Church-Discipline . .	1680
Higginson, John. Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace . .	1686
Mather, Cotton. [<i>Errata</i> to "Early Piety" and "Several Sermons"]	1689
Mather, Increase. The Doctrine of Divine Providence . .	1684
Mather, Nathaniel. A Sermon . . . on . . . the 'Constant Exercise of Grace	1684
Mitchel, Jonathan. Propositions concerning . . . Baptism .	1662
Norton, John. A Brief Catechisme	1660
Steere, Richard. A Monumental Memorial of Marine Mercy .	1684
Willard, Samuel. A Brief Discourse of Justification . . .	1686

Massachusetts Archives.

Andros, Edmund. The Declaration . . April 18th. 1689 .	1689
Harvard College. An Humble Proposal for the Inlargement of the University	1659
Massachusetts. Anno 1697 [list of Assistants]	1697
— At the Convention . . . [declaration concerning the Laws, June 22]	1689
— At the Convention . . . [proclamation for Fast, Sept. 19] .	1689
— At a Council . . . [proclamation for Fast, Sept. 22] . .	1670
— At the General Court . . . [order to issue Bills, Dec. 10] .	1690
— Boston . . . August 9th, 1667 [concerning the fleet in the Caribdee Islands].	1667
— Boston, March 22. 167 $\frac{2}{3}$ [about rebuilding the Castle] . .	1673
— By the Governour and Council [proclamation for Fast, May 7]	1691
— The General Courts Answer to Joseph Dudley	1686

Mather, Increase. The Present State of New-English Affairs	1689
N., N. From a Gentleman of Boston	1689
Naval Office at Boston . . . [clearance certificate]	1692
Port Royal Garrison. Advertisement [June 5]	1691

SECOND SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mather, Cotton. The Everlasting Gospel	1700
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John Carter Brown Library.

Bay Psalm Book [second edition]	1647
Budd, Thomas. Good Order Established in Pennsylvania . .	1685
Eliot, John. The Indian Grammar begun	1666
— Manitowompae Pomantamoonk	1685
Fletcher, Benjamin. An Account of Several Passages . . .	1693
Keith, George. A Vision Concerning the . . . Seperation .	1692
Mather, Cotton. The Christian Thank-Offering	1696
— The Resolved Christian	1700
— Speedy Repentance urged	1690
New York. A Letter from a Gentleman	1698
Quakers. The Christian Faith of the People	1692
— New England's Spirit of Persecution	1693
Wheeler, Thomas. A Thankefull Remembrance	1676
Whiting, Samuel. Abraham's Humble Intercession	1666
— A Discourse of the last Judgement	1664
Williams, Roger. George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrovves .	1676

Brown University Library.

Mather, Cotton. An Elegy on the . . . Death . . . of Nathanael Collins	1685
— A Poem Dedicated to . . . Vrian Oakes	1682

Boston Athenæum.

Allen, James. Mans Self-Reflection	1699
Massachusetts. At a Council . . . [order about Indians, Aug. 30]	1675
— At a Council . . . [order about Incomers to towns, April 4]	1676
— At a Council . . . [order about horse-racing, April 9] .	1677
— At a Council . . . [order about the use of guns, March 28]	1678
— At a Court . . . [order about Indians, March 29] . . .	1677

Massachusetts. At a General Court . . . [order about payments for the War, May 3]	1676
— At a General Court . . . [order about soldiers impressed, May 3]	1676
— At a General Court . . . [order about coin, May 24]	1682
— At a General Court . . . [order about rating of cattle, May 16]	1683
— At a General Court . . . [order about buildings in Boston, Feb. 13, 1683,4]	1684
— At a General Court . . . [laws about privateering, etc., July 9]	1684
— At a General Court . . . [order about buildings in Boston, Jan. 28, 1684]	1685
— At a Sessions of the General Court . . . [order prohibiting the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians, March 4, 1680]	1681
— At a Special General Court . . . [order about buildings in Boston, Nov. 7]	1683
— By the Governour and Company . . . [about law on Wills, Feb. 16, 1685]	1686
— By the Governour and Council . . . [proclamation about Captain Goffe's ship, April 2]	1685
— Orders, Made at a General Court . . . [Jan. 6, 1673]	1674
— Order for regulating Constables payments . . . Octob. 11.	1682
— Several Laws . . . [Oct. 11, 1682, March 31 and Oct. 10, 1683, Sept. 10, 1684]	
— Several Laws and Orders . . . [Oct. 2, 1678, May 28 and Oct. 15, 1679, Feb. 4, 1679-80, May 19 and Oct. 13, 1680, 1681, May 7, 1684, Oct. 14, 1685]	
— Several Orders and Laws . . . [Oct. 15]	1684
Tompson, Benjamin. New Englands Crisis	1676

Congregational Library.

Brief Explications of Truth & Error	1689
Eliot, John. A Christian Covenanting Confession (?)	1670
Mather, Cotton. Errata [to "Principles of the Protestant Religion Maintained"]	1690
Mather, Increase. The Folly of Sinning, Opened & Applied	1699
Mather, Samuel. A Dead Faith Anatomized	1697
Willard, Samuel. Spiritual Desertions Discovered	1699

Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

Chester, Stephen (?). A Funeral Elegy . . . [on John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut]	1676
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Lowell, Percival. A Funeral Elegie . . . [on John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts] (?)	1649
Thompson, Benjamin. A Funeral Tribute . . . [on John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut]	1676

Summer Hollingsworth.

Mather, Increase. The Day of Trouble is near	1674
— Renewal of Covenant the great Duty	1677

Mr. ALBERT B. HART communicated and read extracts from forty-three unpublished letters from George S. Denison to Salmon P. Chase, from May, 1862, to March 31, 1863, during a part of which time Mr. Denison was Collector at New Orleans, and in confidential relations with the United States Treasury Department.

Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG then said:—

There are probably not many persons who are aware that there is a Bunker Hill in England as well as in this country. I have received from Dr. Edward Everett Hale a letter in regard to this subject which I will read, as he is unable to be present.

ROXBURY, MASS., Jan. 6, 1889.

MY DEAR YOUNG,— You will remember that Winsor called our attention to the fact that there are one or two Bunker Hills in England. With reference to one of these I wrote to my friend Mr. Boddington, and from a friend of his I have the interesting answer which I enclose.

I shall not be at your next meeting, but I think this is curious enough to print in the Proceedings.

Truly yours, EDWARD E. HALE.

THE VICARAGE, TOTNES, December 20, 1898.

DEAR SIR,— There is a place called Bourton within less than a mile of Totnes,— a farmhouse or two, and a few cottages,— and in its immediate neighborhood is Bunkers Hill. I have never heard why it is called so, nor do I know of any one, at present, who could likely give me the information. If I should hear I will let you know.

Bunkers Hill is marked on Bacon's County Guide map of South Devon.

Yours truly, V. H. ELLIOTT.

Our Bunker Hill, as is well known, was so named from its original owner, George Bunker, who was a prominent and

wealthy resident of Charlestown, and a large landed proprietor. His son, Rev. Benjamin Bunker, graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1658. The father died in 1664.

Messrs. WILLIAM S. APPLETON and WILLIAM EVERETT called attention to some curious blunders in regard to American history by recent English writers of good reputation.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. WILLIAM W. CRAPO, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, EDMUND F. SLAFTER, EDWARD J. YOUNG, WINSLOW WARREN, and the PRESIDENT.

A new serial of the Proceedings, containing the record of the October, November, and December meetings, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1899.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Beacon Street; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the Treasurer called attention to the provisions in Mr. Sears's Declaration of Trust, creating the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund, and offered the following vote, which was adopted unanimously:—

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund now in the hands of the Treasurer be appropriated to the publication of the Collections of the Society.

Mr. HORACE E. SCUDDER communicated the memoir of the late Justin Winsor, which he had been appointed to write for the Proceedings; and Dr. Samuel A. Green communicated, in behalf of Mr. ARTHUR B. ELLIS, who was absent from the State, the memoir of the late George S. Hale, the preparation of which had been assigned to Mr. Ellis.

THE PRESIDENT said that the question as to the expediency of printing in full the letters from George S. Denison, communicated at the January meeting of the Society, had been referred to the Council by the Committee for publishing the Proceedings, but the Council were not prepared to make a report on the subject, and would do so at the next meeting.

Mr. Archibald Cary Coolidge, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL presented the original draught of an Address to the People of the United States, adopted at a meeting held in Faneuil Hall, January 29, 1845, and said:

Following the suggestion recently made that members contribute to the archives of this Society original documents bearing upon the history of politics within a period not beyond

the memory of living men, I ask to be permitted to add to our collection of such papers the original manuscript of the Address to the People of the United States, unanimously adopted by a convention held in Faneuil Hall, January 29, 1845, to which delegates were invited from all parts of the Commonwealth without distinction of party. The address is a remonstrance against the annexation of Texas, as being "a plain violation of the Constitution," and as "calculated and designed, by the open declaration of its friends, to uphold the interests of Slavery, extend its influence, and secure its permanent duration."

After an introduction declaring that the question is fit to be examined by the people "and considered and decided by an enlightened and conscientious exercise of the public judgment and a full and determined expression of the public will," and setting forth the paramount interest of the subject, "as it presents itself not to political organizations, not to existing parties, not to particular interests, but to the WHOLE PEOPLE of the United States, as of the greatest and most lasting importance," it proceeds by affirming that, "There is no constitutional power in any branch of the Government, or all the branches of the Government, to annex a foreign state to the Union."

The address was printed in the newspapers of the day, and subsequently published in pamphlet form. As printed it contains thirty-eight paragraphs, in addition to what appears in the manuscript before us. This address has been the subject of comment in numerous publications, but the particulars of the calling of the convention and of the preparation of the address have been, so far as I know, only briefly narrated. The best accounts of these that I am aware of, appear in books compiled by members of this Society. Our President, in his Biography of Richard Henry Dana,¹ quotes some interesting passages from the Diary of the latter, giving the details of all the preliminary proceedings of the convention as narrated to him by the late Stephen Clarendon Phillips in 1850; and our late associate Mr. Pierce, in his memoir of Charles Sumner,

¹ Vol. i. p. 173. From Mr. Dana's diary we learn that, finding Mr. Webster reluctant to sign the call, "Judge Allen, with his characteristic intrepidity, put Webster's name to it and told him it should be published, and that he might take it back if he dared." I am indebted to Mr. Willard P. Phillips for the

devotes to the subject a brief note,¹ based evidently upon information received from the same source.

As Mr. Dana records the circumstances, it seems that Mr. Webster advised both the calling of a convention at Faneuil Hall and the preparation of an address "to the people, as the first step towards arousing the North"; and that he also "revised and gave his approval to the call" for the Convention, which was written at his lodgings by Mr. Phillips; and that the manuscript of the address was partly written and partly dictated by him. By inspection of the paper herewith submitted, the first seven pages are seen to be wholly in his handwriting; thence to the middle of page twenty-four, the writing shows that the pen was held by Charles Allen, who had been a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and who subsequently became Chief Justice of the Superior Court for Suffolk County, and later still of the Superior Court of the Commonwealth; and, from that page onward, that Mr. Phillips, whom I have mentioned, continued the writing to the end. The two gentlemen last named, I will add in passing, were not only the chief promoters of the project of a convention,—Mr. Phillips suggesting it to Judge Allen, who at that time happened to be in Salem, where Mr. Phillips resided,—but were most active participants in the doings and debates of the convention, and thenceforth throughout their lives persistent in maintaining the doctrines of the address, and prominent among the leaders of the Free Soil party, the foundation of which was laid in this convention.

The passages which I have quoted declaring the unconstitutionality of the method by which the annexation of Texas was sought to be accomplished, and that the purpose of the promoters of this scheme was to establish and perpetuate slavery, were written by Mr. Webster.

I have no doubt of the genuineness of this paper as a literal

further information that, on the morning of the convention, the committee in charge having waited some time for Mr. Webster and he not appearing, proceeded to his lodgings and met him on the stairs of the Tremont House. In reply to their invitation to accompany them to Faneuil Hall, he told them that he had an imperative engagement which would prevent him from attending the convention; and, accordingly, he shortly after left for New York. He, however, gave no intimation that he had changed his views, or that he wished the address withheld from the public.

¹ Vol. iii. p. 101.

statement of the views which Mr. Webster then professed. That it has been publicly attributed to him for about fifty years past, I can attest from my own recollection ; and now, by the decease of so many of the persons principally concerned in calling the convention and in participating in its proceedings, the time seems opportune for this Society to accept the tender of the gift of this paper from Mr. Willard Peele Phillips, the surviving son of the prime mover of the convention.

It must not be inferred, from what I have said of the opportuneness of the gift, that I intend any allusion to current events of national interest, as bearing upon the question of possible conflict with the Constitution. On the contrary, although I am so thoroughly convinced that the joint resolution for the annexation of Texas was a flagrant violation of the Federal compact that I cannot reconcile the assertion of the constitutionality of that measure with the honesty of those who make it, — especially of those among them who claim to be strict constructionists, — I cannot consent to the broad ground assumed by the convention (and upon which much of the opposition to the annexation was based), that every annexation of new territory to the United States is unconstitutional. On the contrary, it seems to me that constitutions are no exception to the universal rule *inter arma silent leges*, and that when we enter the battlefield we have no constitutional guaranty that we shall regain our political base. The Constitution having recognized the arbitrament of arms, and provided for the carrying on of war by committing its conduct exclusively to one branch of the government, — a branch established by the Constitution for that among other purposes, — there is no co-ordinate branch to control it. Theoretically, indeed, it may be checked by withholding the supply of the sinews of war ; but there is no authority superior to the war power which may constitutionally interpose to prevent, to correct, or to terminate the course of belligerency, even if it continues itself by irregular forced loans or sequestration. So also treaties, often the result of a truce, an armistice, or a military convention between contending armies, are wholly within the control of the treaty-making power, which is unlimited, unrestricted, absolute. Assigned by the Constitution to a special department of the government, no other authority exists for controlling it, except by a refusal to ratify its conclusions and to

fulfil the obligations which it imposes. This failure when the purpose of the treaty is to ratify a capitulation of peace means, simply, a renewal of the despotic sway of the war power.

Such are the fearful perils with which, by reason of our utter helplessness (perhaps unavoidable), a state of war menaces the integrity of our national fabric. Should it ever happen that through war we have proceeded so far as to make a new departure, subversive of the original plan and theory of our government, the Constitution provides no specific remedy and opens no door for retreat. One resource alone is available to the patriot who is appalled at the danger of such an innovation proposed or accomplished even before the temple of liberty erected by our fathers has attained perfect symmetry and withstood its severest possible shock. That resource is an appeal to a deliberate public sentiment—the force which underlies and controls all laws and constitutions of free governments—which shall demand a return, by constitutional methods, to the *status quo ante bellum*, or, at least, to a status which, though it may leave some wrong unredressed, will attest our contrition for past errors, our sympathy and magnanimity, and our sincere purpose to relieve the oppressed and to elevate and encourage the weak, the ignorant, and the abject. Then will the opportunity offer to effect these benevolent objects by the tender of our aid and our example, which there is no reason to doubt will be gladly received and appreciated by a grateful people.

This desirable end can only be accomplished by persistent political effort. The struggle may be long and the discouragements to be encountered grave; but the result will be well worth the effort to attain it. It will add to our true glory among the nations, set other states an example to follow, and give us an enviable place in history.

MR. ANDREW MCF. DAVIS read the following paper:—

A Search for a Pamphlet by Governor Hutchinson.

During a recent study which I have made of the currency of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, covering the years 1690 to 1750, I have examined not only all the publications to be found in our public libraries treating directly of this

topic, but also many with suggestive titles which yielded nothing to the search. Nearly all the pamphlets of this period were anonymously published, the writers taking refuge behind pseudonyms such as "A lover of his Country," "A Merchant in Boston," "Amicus patriæ," "Philopolites," etc., under cover of which those who wished to do so could indulge in the vigorous denunciations of their opponents which custom seemed to countenance in the polemical writings of that day. In many cases the authors who took a hand in these contests betrayed themselves by their style as fully as if they had signed their names to the publications. Dr. Douglass, for instance, a prolific writer who took a deep interest in the currency question, in all probability never issued a pamphlet anonymously which could not be readily identified by one who had read with care any of his acknowledged works. Nor does the fact that a controversial pamphlet, written by one of his opponents, has repeatedly been attributed to him,¹ in any way compel the qualification of this statement. One of Dr. Douglass's contributions to this controversy has been considered of such value that it has passed through no less than five editions, the last reprint having been made by the American Economic Association in 1897. Yet so completely was the merit of this pamphlet obscured by the aggressive and offensive style of the writer, that Palfrey loses all patience with him, and in different places in his History denounces him as "a master of ribaldry," "a conceited censor," "a snarling physician," and "a contemporary Scottish grumbler," while Eliot in his Biographical Dictionary defines the "Summary," as "a collection of things which came into his head, whether they related to his family, his private squabbles, or the affairs of the publick." In spite of these derisive epithets and contemptuous opinions, economists to-day assign a high place to Douglass's "Discourse concerning the Currencies," and rank him, among the hard-money men of the time, second only to Hutchinson, who was fortunately so situated that he could act as well as write and talk.

The authorship of three anonymous pamphlets which treat of the currency question in Massachusetts, was determined by the late J. Hammond Trumbull and made public in his

¹ Some Observations on the Scheme projected for Emitting £60,000 in bills of a new Tenour, etc. Boston, 1738.

"First Essays at Banking in New England."¹ One of these was assigned to the Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury, the means of identification being allusions to the personal history of the author.² Familiarity with Cotton Mather's works led Mr. Trumbull to attribute the authorship of the second of these pamphlets to Mather.³ The critic saw at once the analogy between its contents and certain passages in the "*Magnalia*." His conclusion that Mather was the author will doubtless be generally accepted, but if one should hesitate in this regard, the definition of "the Nature of Money" quoted from the pamphlet, — "That (as such) it is but a *Counter* or *Measure* of mens Proprieties, and Instituted *mean* of permutation," etc. — will probably vanquish opposition. The use of capitals and italics in the publications of the last century was governed by widely different rules from those which prevail among printers to-day, and it is doubtless the case that a person could deduce from the numerous publications of Cotton Mather the methods which he employed in this behalf. At any rate, it is obvious that if there had been an absence in this pamphlet of the customary proportions of these peculiarities, it would have led Mr. Trumbull to doubt whether after all it could be attributed to Mather, for, after quoting from the "*Magnalia*," he adds: "How Mather must have enjoyed the construction of that sentence, in which the alliteration is emphasized by capitals and italics." The manner in which use was made of these methods for the purpose of rendering more conspicuous not only meaning but peculiarities of style, may fairly be considered one of the tests applied to this pamphlet by Mr. Trumbull.

The author of a third pamphlet was disclosed in "First Essays at Banking," etc. as the Rev. John Wise of Chebacco.⁴ This was effected through references to the author in connection with the pamphlet, made by contemporary writers.

¹ First published as the Council Report of the American Antiquarian Society, in the Proceedings of that Society, October, 1884.

² Several relating to the Fund, Printed for divers Reasons, as may appear. [1682.] The Watkinson Library at Hartford possesses the only copy of this pamphlet of which we have knowledge.

³ Some Considerations on the Bills of Credit now passing in New England, etc. [1691.]

⁴ A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country, etc. By Amicus Patriæ. Boston, 1721.

These were in the form of puns upon his name and allusions to incidents in his career which were easily corroborated.¹

Some of the contributions to the pamphlet literature of the period which treat of the currency were written by persons who were not only ignorant of the first principles of the laws of economics but were also unskilled in letters. It were vain to seek for the authorship of many of these, but the success which has rewarded the intelligent and discriminating study of Mr. Trumbull may perhaps hold forth encouragement to others less qualified for the task to apply his methods in work of a similar nature where there are indications that results can be obtained. It matters not whether the search be for an author who has concealed his personality, or for a pamphlet said to have been published by some well-known writer. The tests to be applied in either case will be the same. It is the latter task which I have set myself, the basis of my work being the statement made by P. O. Hutchinson, in the "Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson," that in 1736 the Governor published a small pamphlet upon the subject of paper money.

There being no pamphlet of the year 1736 which has been attributed to Hutchinson, we are obliged in the prosecution of this investigation to ask ourselves, first, Is there a pamphlet of some other date attributed to him which might perhaps have served as a basis for the above statement, the date given in the "Diary and Letters" being either a typographical or a chirographical error? I think it may fairly be said that there is no pamphlet in existence which fulfils the foregoing conditions, but unfortunately there is an entry in Sabin which if it has any right to be there would indicate the existence of a pamphlet which might be the one referred to, and which, even if wrongfully there, compels the recognition of an investigator. This entry is as follows: "[Hutchinson] Dissertation on the Currencies of the British Plantations in North America and Observations on the Paper Currency, Boston, 1741. 8vo, pp. 62 + Postscript [Ibid]." The "Hutchinson" being in brackets indicates that the work is anonymously published. The "Ibid" apparently means that the pamphlet is to be found in the Boston, Harvard College, and Athenæum libraries. The failure to find any such pamphlet in any of our

¹ Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct., 1884, pp. 293, 303, note F.

libraries shows that there was some error in Sabin's entry, but does not relieve us from attempting to account for it. I am indebted to Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the New York Public Library for the suggestion that Sabin probably got his entry from Haven's list in the "Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society."¹ The pamphlet bearing the title "The Dissertations," etc., is described by Mr. Haven, under date of 1740, as an octavo of sixty-two pages published at Boston, and underneath its entry in his list follows a note in the following words: "Supposed to have been written by Thomas Hutchinson." The next entry is "Dissertation. Postscript to the same. Boston." This furnishes the clue to Sabin's peculiar descriptive entry, "8vo, pp. 62 + Postscript," and seems also to confirm in a satisfactory way Mr. Eames's suggestion, although the year of the publication is not the same.

Mr. Winsor in a note to the editorial notes appended to the second chapter of the fifth volume of the "Narrative and Critical History of America" repeats the assertion that a pamphlet bearing this title was published in 1740 and has been attributed to Hutchinson. He gives no authority for the statement.²

Any person familiar with the currency pamphlets of this date must be struck by the resemblance between this title and that of Douglass's Discourse. The first paragraph of Douglass's title reads "A Discourse concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America, especially with regard to their paper money." It is obvious that a person who had recently seen the Discourse, in making a note of its title without the pamphlet at hand for consultation, might produce the variations which are to be found in the title in Haven's list. The correspondence in certain of the descriptive details in the entry adds to the probability that this entry must have originated in some such way as this. The Discourse was originally published in 1739 in London in an undated pamphlet fifty-four pages in length. Mr. Eames tells me that this edition of the pamphlet has been catalogued at different times under the years 1739, 1740, and 1741. It was republished in Boston in 1740, the pamphlet ending with

¹ Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. vi. p. 451.

² Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. v. p. 172, note 1.

a finis on the forty-seventh page. While it was going through the press an opponent of Douglass's published a pamphlet entitled "An Inquiry into the nature and uses of Money," etc., in which he attacked Douglass's theories. Douglass at once issued a postscript to the Discourse, which was devoted to an attempt to reply to the author of "An Inquiry," etc. The Postscript, although printed separately, was paged as if it formed part of the Discourse, the pagination running from 49 to 62. The Discourse and the Postscript are to be found in our libraries separately and also together. In the latter case they make an octavo pamphlet with continuous pagination of sixty-two pages. In 1751 the Discourse and the Postscript were published in London in a pamphlet of sixty-two pages, the titlepage of which has the words "with a Postscript thereto" added to the title of the Discourse. If the original entry of the "Dissertation" was intended for the "Discourse," it seems probable, from the fact of separate entries being made for the pamphlet and the postscript that whoever was responsible for it must have been working from the Boston rather than from the London edition, although each of them is an octavo and each of them has sixty-two pages including the postscript. Whether this conclusion be accepted or not, there can be but little doubt that the association of Hutchinson's name with it was entirely unwarranted.

In default of any more satisfactory conclusion to the first branch of our investigation, we must pass on to the second question which would naturally suggest itself for answer in connection with an attempt to discover the pamphlet alleged to have been published by Hutchinson in 1736. This question may be formulated as follows: Is there any special characteristic in Hutchinson's style of writing which would enable us to recognize it if met with apart from his acknowledged authorship? Fortunately for our purposes, Hutchinson has forced every student of this period of our history to become familiar with his style, the perusal of his History being to all such a matter of absolute necessity. One who has read the pamphlets to which I have alluded by title might speak of the scurrility of Douglass, the pedantry of Mather, and the eccentricities of Woodbridge and Wise; but the reader of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts would find it difficult to epitomize in a similar epigrammatic way the style of a work

which is free from exaggeration and devoid of striking characteristics. The simplicity and as a rule the clearness of the narrative, the moderation of the arguments, the evident intention of fairness in all statements, and the courtesy with which the author treats his opponents furnish, however, an individuality to Hutchinson's productions quite as marked as those of the writers who have just been mentioned. Like many of his contemporaries, he did not waste time in polishing off his awkward sentences or in correcting minor delinquencies in the way of grammar,¹ but on the whole he placed himself in advance of most of his rivals by anticipating in his style of writing methods much more nearly in accord with the tastes of posterity than those which were in general use when he wrote. If, then, upon examination of a pamphlet we find that it is violent or turgid; if it lacks simplicity; if it deals unfairly or discourteously with adversaries, or if it advocates paper money, we may know by its ear-marks that it is not Hutchinson's. On the other hand, if it appeals to us by the presentation of its case somewhat in the fashion of the writers of to-day, and if that case be in opposition to paper money, then it is possible that Hutchinson may have written it.

Having failed in our search for a pamphlet of another date than 1736, which might justify the theory of an error of date, and having determined what must be the essentials of a pamphlet in order that it shall be accepted as from Hutchinson's hand, we are in position to examine the pamphlets issued in 1736 and eliminate from them such as do not stand the test. Fortunately this task is but a short one. There were but two currency pamphlets published that year: "The Melancholy State of the Province considered in a letter from a gentleman in Boston to his friend in the Country," and "A Letter to a member of the Honourable House of Representatives on the present State of the Bills of Credit." It requires but a brief examination of the first of these to secure its rejection as unworthy of Hutchinson, but the second will compel its careful study. It is a strong argument in favor of bringing the Province to a specie basis, and the writer submits a scheme by

¹ "I have an aversion to transcribing, and except the three or four first sheets, and now and then a page in which I had made some mistake, the rest of the work is rough, as I first wrote it." — *Life of Thomas Hutchinson*, by James K. Hosmer, Boston and New York, 1896, p. 86.

means of which he believes that this can be accomplished. It is not my intention at this point to analyze the contents of the pamphlet. It is enough to say now, that as regards the style it fully stands the required tests, and so far as the scheme was concerned, it was a proposition to loan merchants public bills of a new form, at such rates that they could repay the loans in annual instalments in silver. Their circulation was to be stimulated by making them legal tender for contracts payable in silver, and by compelling the withdrawal from circulation in this Province of the bills of the other governments. The confidence of the writer in the scheme was such that he says, "for my part I am so convinc'd of the profit of it, that I should be willing to engage for as large a sum as my estate and circumstances will admit of." At the time when this pamphlet was published — the spring of 1736, according to a notation in the copy in the Public Library in the handwriting of Prince — Hutchinson was in his twenty-fifth year. He had not as yet entered upon public life, and we cannot hope to trace to him prior to this date opinions similar to those expressed in the pamphlet. His father was however at this time and had been for many years a Councillor. His opinions can be traced, and the community of thought between father and son can be easily established. What the father thought in 1714 is stated by the Governor in his History in the following words: "Three parties were formed, one very small, which was for drawing in the paper bills and depending upon a silver and gold currency. Mr. Hutchinson, one of the members for Boston, was among the most active of this party. He was an Enemy all his life to a depreciating currency, upon a principle very ancient, but too seldom practised upon, *nil utile quod non honestum*." At the time when the pamphlet which we are considering was written the scheme which was submitted had, according to its author, already been several times before the General Court. The records of the General Court are so meagre that it is impossible absolutely to verify this statement; but if we can establish the proposition that prior to this date Thomas Hutchinson the father favored a scheme which bore so many of the features of the plan suggested in the pamphlet that it would seem as if it must have been identical with it, and if at a later date we can show that both father and son were heavy

subscribers to a loan based upon precisely the same principles, we shall have succeeded in establishing the fact that the contents of the pamphlet corresponded as closely to Hutchinson's views upon matters of finance as did the style in which it was written to that of the pages of his History. How far this can be substantiated will appear from what follows.

On the 20th of December, 1729, a bill which was originally introduced in the Council by Benjamin Lynde on the 12th of that month, entitled "An Act for retrieving and ascertaining the value of the Bills of Credit on this Province," was read a second time in the House,¹ and it was ordered that it should be printed, and that the further consideration thereof should be referred to the next session of the Court, and that in the mean time a joint committee, of which the members from the House were named, should take subscriptions of such gentlemen as were willing to subscribe as undertakers in the affair and report to the Court thereon. This action on the part of the House was reported the same day to the Council. The Board concurred, and added Thomas Hutchinson and Adam Winthrop to the committee as representatives of that branch of the Assembly. The Lieutenant-Governor then signified his assent to the proceeding.

There is no copy of the printed bill and no trace of the subscription list in our archives, and no evidence is to be found, either there or in the records, that this committee ever reported. It may be inferred, therefore, that the subscription was a failure, and we must rely upon subsequent proceedings of a similar nature, in which identical methods were employed by men holding such pronounced opinions upon the paper-money question as Thomas Hutchinson, for inferences as to what took place in 1729.

The next proceeding of importance, after 1729, in which the senior Hutchinson's name is associated with any effort to reform the currency, occurred in the spring of 1731, when

¹ Court Records, vol. xvii. pp. 343, 361. It ought perhaps to be noted in this connection that a somewhat similar suggestion had been made in February, 1727-28, at which time a committee was appointed to receive and consider, in the recess of the Court, any scheme or projection for retrieving the value of the bills of credit or for making a suitable provision for a medium of trade, and this committee was authorized to take subscriptions of any persons for the fulfilment of such scheme or schemes, and make report thereon. Court Records, vol. xiv. p. 48.

Jacob Wendell and others petitioned the General Court, asking for the emission of £50,000 in bills of a new form, to be loaned on real security, at fifty per cent of the valuation, the loans to be repaid to the Province Treasury, one-fifth part each year for five years, at the rate of seventeen shillings per ounce for silver. Hutchinson, in behalf of the committee of both houses to which the petition was referred, reported that the scheme would be of public benefit, and recommended the emission with the proviso that the bills should be at the rate of sixteen shillings an ounce and be redeemable at the end of five years in silver and gold.¹ A bill was ordered, on the 10th of June, to be prepared to this effect, and it is probably the supply bill to which the Governor, under his instructions as to currency emissions, refused his assent in July.

It appears by the records that in November, 1734, Thomas Hutchinson of the Council reported a bill for the emission of £60,000 which was defeated on the 26th of that month in the House. There is in the archives a draught of an "Act for retrieving and ascertaining the value of the currency," which was introduced in November, 1734, doubtless the act introduced by Hutchinson.² It provided for the emission of £60,000 in bills of a new form and tenor, stated to be in value equal to silver coin at the rate of 6s. 8d. per ounce. They were to be let out for ten years, and £110 were to be paid annually during this period by the borrowers for each £1,000. Twenty shillings of the old tenor were to be worth 6s. 8d. of the new, and the new bills were to be redeemable at the end of five years, one-half in coin and one-half in new notes. For the purpose of effecting this, a new emission was to be made of £60,000, one-half of which was to be applied for the exchange of bills and the other half to be loaned for ten years to borrowers. If this process was intended to be continued, it would require the interposition of the calculus to

¹ The bill was passed to be enacted in the House July 16, and the Governor refused his consent July 20. See House Journal for these dates. See also Court Records, vol. xiv. p. 82. A plan was submitted in the following January, the details of which are not given, for a loan of £300,000 in Bills of Credit, borrowers to pay for the same in silver at 8s. an ounce, so that the Treasurer might at the end of twenty years be prepared to redeem outstanding bills in coin. It was, however, promptly rejected by the House. See House Journal, January 14, 1731-32.

² Massachusetts Archives, vol. 101, no. 519.

determine when the last of the £60,000 would be finally withdrawn. The section covering this point was the subject of amendment, and the ultimate purpose of those who proposed the changes cannot be ascertained from the draught; but it is probable that they really intended to have the loans cease at the end of ten years from the date of the emission. The bills were to be a legal tender in all contracts calling for payment in silver or gold. This Act was defeated in the House. It will be noted that these proceedings were prior to the date of the pamphlet.

In 1737 the same Thomas Hutchinson reported the Act which contained the form of the bills of new tenor, which Act was then promptly passed. Silver was then worth about 27 shillings an ounce in old tenor. The new bills were valued in silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce, like the proposed emission of 1734, and the same proportion was established between the new and old tenor bills as was at that time proposed. Twenty shillings of the old tenor were to be worth 6s. 8d. of the new, which was said to be the value of one ounce of coined silver. Between 1734 and 1737 silver had advanced at least two shillings an ounce. The rate three for one was disproportionate when proposed, being in favor of the old tenor, and the disproportion was still greater in 1737. It may have been that the person who drafted the bill hoped to elevate the old tenor notes.

The success of the new tenor bill apparently stimulated the hard-money men to renewed efforts, and in January, 1737-38, a scheme was submitted for the emission of £60,000, which were to be let out to those who would undertake for ten years to pay annually to the Treasury for each £1,000 furnished them in bills rated at 6s. 8d. an ounce in silver, £105 in silver or gold coin. At the end of five years any possessor of bills could redeem one-half of them in silver or gold; the other moiety was to be paid in new notes to be in turn redeemed in five years. Like the proposition submitted in 1729, this Act was to be printed and put in the hands of a committee who were to solicit subscriptions and report at a future day. Upon the success of that committee depended the fate of the scheme. No bills were to be emitted unless £30,000 were subscribed. Thomas Hutchinson is the name that leads the list of Councillors appointed to secure subscriptions, and Thomas Hutchinson is also the first name upon the list of

Representatives appointed for the same purpose, both father and son being at that time in the Assembly.

The bills proposed to be issued under this Act were declared to be in value equal to silver coin at the rate of 6s. 8d. the ounce and gold coin at £4 18s. the ounce, troy weight, and were accordingly to be redeemed by silver and gold at the rates aforesaid. They were to be accepted in all public and private payments in such time and manner as was provided by an Act of the General Assembly. The provisions in the Act thus referred to made the bills a legal tender in the case of special contracts for payments in coin.

On the 6th of June, 1738, Thomas Hutchinson, Senior, in behalf of the committee appointed to canvass for this loan, reported that they had received from sundry persons subscriptions amounting to £19,000. The subscription list was appended to the report and was headed by Thomas Hutchinson, who placed against his name the sum of £2,500.¹ The fourth name on the list was Thomas Hutchinson, Junior, and the amount set against it was £1,500. It being evident by the submission of this report that the committee were not hopeful of securing the requisite amount of subscriptions, the scheme was for the time abandoned.

In December of the same year, Thomas Hutchinson, Senior, in behalf of "the committee appointed to consider the difficulties attending the public credit on this Province," submitted a report in which it was recommended that another attempt should be made to carry through this scheme. The same committee also recommended that the circulation of any bills issued by the neighboring Colonies, since the first day of May, 1738, should be absolutely prohibited, unless such bills were redeemable in silver or gold, and founded upon an adequate security, thus bringing the attempt in still closer conformity to the proposition made in the pamphlet in 1736. The report was adopted and a second canvass for subscriptions was made; but the time was extremely unpropitious, and this effort did not approach as near success as did the first. It served, however, to convince the friends of the measure that there was nothing to hope for in any such movement, and all attempts to resume specie payments by plans of this description were thereupon abandoned. An examination of the second sub-

¹ Massachusetts Archives, vol. 101, no. 562.

scription list,¹ which was submitted with the report of the committee, April 24, 1739, discloses the names of both the Hutchinsons, the total amount of their subscriptions being the same as before, although differently distributed. The father, as on the first list, stands at the head; but his subscription is for £3,000, while the name of the son is tenth upon the list, and his engagement in the undertaking is reduced to £1,000. This is probably significant of the feelings of the two men with relation to the second experiment, for even before the committee submitted the report in which their failure to secure the requisite amount of subscriptions was acknowledged, Thomas Hutchinson, Junior, submitted to the Assembly a new plan for bringing the Province to a specie basis by the importation of silver from England on the credit of the Province. This was in March, 1739, and here we can afford to abandon this preliminary review of the events connected with the currency in which the Hutchinsons participated. Its purpose has been not to establish their position as hard-money men, but to point out the means by which they hoped that the resumption of specie payments could be effected. Of the consistency of Governor Hutchinson's opinions upon the currency question, from the time that he was old enough to have an opinion down to the period when he was able to exert so powerful an influence in securing the passage of the Act through which the reimbursement for the Cape Breton expedition was applied for the redemption of the bills of credit, there can be no question. The opinions of the son were doubtless shaped by the father, and the subscription lists bear witness what they were.

We are prepared now to analyze the pamphlet itself.² It is entitled

A | Letter | to a | Member of the Honourable House | of | Representatives | On the present State of the | Bills of Credit. | — | Jactabatur enim temporibus illis nummus, sic ut | nemo posset scire quid haberet. Cicero. | — | Boston | — | Printed in the Year, MDCCLXXXVI.

The copy in the Boston Public Library has the following notation at the bottom of the titlepage, in the handwriting of

¹ Massachusetts Archives, vol. 101, no. 615.

² A copy of the pamphlet is annexed as an appendix to this paper.

Prince; viz., "about y^e beginning of March 35/6." It is an octavo of nine pages, and is signed "Philopatriæ," the signature being followed by a quotation from Horace:—

“ — — Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.”

It will perhaps be remembered that the titlepage of the History of Massachusetts bears a quotation from Pliny.

It has already been stated that the style in which the pamphlet was written corresponds closely with that which characterizes the acknowledged writings of Hutchinson. What the essential points are for such a conclusion has been heretofore noted; and it is only necessary to add at this time that no other pamphlet of the period is equally direct in statement, and simple and straightforward in argument. The writer, after dilating upon the evils of the situation, expresses the opinion that there can be no relief except through the substitution of gold and silver for the currency then in use. To effect this he proposes that a certain amount of bills of a different tenor from those in circulation should be emitted. He fixes no specific sum, leaving that to be determined by the Assembly. These bills were to be in value equal to silver at 6s. 10*d.* per ounce, and were to be let out on the following terms: Every person who should borrow £1,000 in the bills was to agree to pay back to the Province annually for ten years £110 in silver coin. This would produce a fund which would enable the Province to call in the bills at the end of five years, and redeem them one-half in coin and one-half in new bills, redeemable in turn at the end of five years more. The bills of this emission were to be a legal tender in cases where payment was contracted for in gold and silver. The circulation of bills of other governments was to be forbidden.

The similarity of this scheme to the proposed Act of 1734, and to the subscription loans in which the Hutchinsons were interested in 1738 and 1739, is too plain to require comment. One word, however, may appropriately be said as to the rate of silver in which the bills were valued in this scheme. 6s. 8*d.* is the rate which was apparently recognized in the Province all through this period as the normal rate of silver expressed in New England money. Sterling Exchange was

133 $\frac{1}{3}$, and this would indicate a sterling value for silver of 5s., a market value which had not prevailed for many years. The London rate was 5s. 2d., and this gave the equivalent rating in New England money 6s. 10 $\frac{2}{3}$ d. The proclamation of Queen Anne fixed the weight of the piece of eight which should pass for 6s. at 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ dwt., seven-eighths of an ounce, and this gave a silver rate of 6s. 10 $\frac{2}{7}$ d. The proclamation was based upon a provincial statute which fixed the weight of the piece of eight at 17 dwt., in order that it might pass at 6s. The rate of silver to be deduced from the statute is 7s. 0d. 3f. per ounce. Hutchinson in his History, speaking of the depreciation in 1749, says: "The bills, it was said, had sunk gradually in their value from 6s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 60s. the ounce." This is not an explicit statement that he accepted the lower rate as the starting-point, but in the lack of evidence to the contrary this would be a fair inference. This peculiar rating, 6s. 10d., is not to be found in any contemporaneous legislation, and, so far as I know, is not to be met with elsewhere except in a communication by Hutchinson to the "Boston Evening Post," December 14, 1761, which is reprinted in a pamphlet entitled "Considerations in lowering the value of Gold Coins within the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay" [1762]. Hutchinson is there quoted as saying, in regard to the Act establishing the rates at which the piece of eight should pass after 1750: "It was thought best to conform to Queen Ann's proclamation and to establish a currency at the rate of six shillings a milled dollar, for although silver by the Act of the Province is made the standard at 6s. 8d. the ounce, yet at the same time a milled dollar was allowed to pass in contracts at 6s. and everybody expected by this means to exclude hammered pieces of eight from our currency, and this has been the effect, and in fact silver is our standard by law at 6s. 10d. the ounce supposing a dollar to weigh 17 dwt. 9 grains."

A word ought perhaps to be said as to the feasibility of the scheme proposed in the pamphlet. Silver was worth in 1736 twenty-seven shillings an ounce in the public bills then current, and the possibility of floating a currency loan payable in coin seems at first sight questionable. In a review of the pamphlet literature of this period, published two years ago, I said in relation to this point: "In considering the practicability of this proposition, it must be remembered that when it

was put forth, silver was rated in the Province at twenty-seven shillings per ounce." A closer examination of the scheme discloses the fact that this was not necessarily fatal to its success. The bills in which the silver rate was quoted were said to be in value equal to money, while the new bills were to have a fixed rate in silver, were to be a legal tender in contracts requiring payment in silver, and were to be protected by the exclusion of the currency of the other governments. The Merchants' Notes, emitted in 1733, were at that very time held at a premium in consequence of the fixed rate of silver in which they were valued, and two years thereafter the new tenor notes gave temporary relief from the depreciation. These facts bear testimony to the practicability of the proposed scheme, provided the requisite number of subscriptions could have been secured.

For the success of any of these schemes for resuming specie payments it was of importance that the Rhode Island bills should in some way be excluded from circulation. We have seen that the writer of this pamphlet broached the idea in 1736 of accomplishing this arbitrarily through legislation, and that the suggestion was accepted by Thomas Hutchinson, and incorporated in the abortive subscription loan act in 1739.

It was stated at the beginning of this discussion that no pamphlet could be considered as from the hand of Hutchinson which advocated paper money. We have seen that the one under consideration advocated a scheme for resumption of specie payments which was approved by Hutchinson. It remains for us to compare the opinions expressed by the anonymous author with those upon the same subject to be found in the pages of the History, to note the resemblances and the disagreements in expression and in style, and to determine thereby whether the conviction which has already established its right for existence that this pamphlet might have been written by Hutchinson, shall assume the shape of a belief that it probably was the work of his hands. For this purpose it is essential that we shall place side by side a few quotations from the pamphlet and from the History.

In the second volume of the History, in referring to the emissions on account of the Canada expedition in 1690 and 1691, Hutchinson says the bills "were become the sole instru-

ment and measure of commerce, and silver and gold were entirely banished. Of the two instruments, one in use in a particular State only, the other with the whole commercial world, it is easy to determine which must leave the particular State and which remain. The currency of silver and gold entirely ceasing,¹ the price of everything bought or sold was no longer compared therewith, but with the paper bills, or rather the mere ideal pounds, shillings, and pence."²

In the first volume, referring to precisely the same thing, he says: "As soon as the silver and gold were gone, and the bills were the sole instrument of commerce, pounds, shillings, and pence were altogether ideal. For near forty years together the currency was in much the same state as if a hundred thousand pounds sterling had been stamped in pieces of leather or paper of various denominations, and declared to be the money of the government."³

We have in the foregoing three ideas: first, the needs of a currency which is to serve for "an instrument and measure of commerce," and it may be as well perhaps to note the phrase, the one in general use at the time being "medium of trade"; second, the representative or ideal character of an irredeemable paper currency; and third, the comparison of the currency to stamped leather or paper.

Let us turn to the pamphlet, and see if we find anything corresponding to these quotations. On page 1, the statement is made that the bills serve for "a measure of commerce which ought always to be invariable."⁴ On page 2: "They [the bills] are emitted on a mere imaginary bottom, and are never to be paid off." On page 3, after discussing the recoinage under William III., the writer says: "But here we have no silver or gold to work upon, and instead of an intrinsic real value the money we have left us has only a mere imaginary one." On

¹ Note the use of the word "ceasing," and observe its use in a similar way in one of the quotations from the pamphlet.

² History of Massachusetts, vol. ii. p. 188.

³ Ibid., vol. i. p. 357 note.

⁴ In 1751 a protest against certain legislation was filed by Andrew Oliver and Thomas Hutchinson. The document not only bears Hutchinson's signature, thereby indicating his approval of its sentiments, but it is in his handwriting, from which it may be inferred that he was the author. The fourth objection raised by the memorialists contains the following clause: "The established medium or instrument of trade ought to be certainly known, fixed, and invariable." — Massachusetts Archives, vol. 102, no. 485.

page 5 the author deals with the restricted channels within which the bills must be used, and points out what sort of money is needed for external commerce in the following words: "And I am satisfy'd that nothing will effectually serve for an Instrument of Commerce in any particular Kingdom or Government but what Mankind by universal assent have placed a value on. Indeed if we had no Correspondence with the rest of the world and all our Trade and business was with one another, and within ourselves, I dont see why Leather, Paper or anything that we agreed to and put a stamp on should not answer the end as well as silver provided it be durable, and we have but just a sufficient quantity of it. If this be true, then nothing can relieve us but the putting a stop to our present currency, that has only an imaginary value, and introducing Silver and Gold, which the world has given a real value to." The opening clause in the last sentence, "If this be true," is an unfortunate choice of language. What follows enables us to determine that what he meant to say was, if a purely representative money can only be used under these conditions, then a people who wish to deal with the world must adopt a currency which has value in the world's markets. It serves, however, for an illustration of the manner in which Hutchinson occasionally left a clear thought obscured by the language in which it was couched, quite as well as if the quotation had been taken from the pages of his History.

Hutchinson was much impressed with the fact that the withdrawal of the Merchants' Notes in 1733 from the circulation did not reduce the discount upon the public bills remaining out; and writing concerning this point, he said: "Although the currency was lessened¹ by taking away the notes, yet what remained never increased in value, silver continuing several years about the same rate, until it took another large jump. This very great injustice was caused by this wretched paper currency, and no relief of any sort obtained; for by this sinking in value, though the nominal sum was higher than it had ever been before, yet the currency would produce no more sterling money than it would have done before the late emissions were made." The confusion of this paragraph is very great. The

¹ The use of this word is characteristic. "This lessened the murmur of the party for the private bank." — History of Massachusetts, vol. ii. p. 190.

writer begins by noting that the well-established fact of the withdrawal of a large block of currency did not reduce the discount, and then goes on to say that "the nominal sum was higher," thereby showing that he was then referring to an increase of the circulating medium. I have quoted the first part of the paragraph for the purpose of placing by its side the views of the author of the pamphlet on the same subject, and I have left the incongruous conclusion to show that in the History we find evidences of the same sort of carelessness as that which was commented on in connection with a quotation from the pamphlet.

The allusion in the pamphlet to the withdrawal of the Merchants' Notes is on the fourth page, and is as follows: "And its true that immediately after a large Emission the currency has always fell, but then no consequence follows from thence, that upon the quantity being lessen'd, it must rise again; nay the contrary is evident, from experience as well as reason: And we may instance in the late sudden stop put in the currency of the Merchants Notes, as they are called; for tho the emission of these with other bills at the same time sunk our money at least twenty-five per cent, yet their ceasing has not reduc'd it in any degree."

The reader of Hutchinson's History will perhaps understand that the influx of Rhode Island notes, of which the author has spoken a few sentences before, was the reason why there was no improvement in the rate of silver. The amount of currency from all sources in circulation had increased proportionately with the rise of silver. The relation of these outside bills to the problem is covered in the pamphlet by the "other bills," which assisted in sinking our money, but it is noticeable that neither Hutchinson nor the author of the pamphlet seemed to understand that the influx of other bills might have been large enough to compensate for the withdrawal of the Merchants' Notes.

After the discount of the bills had reached a figure so high as to have it appreciated that the resumption of specie payments carried with it the certainty of bankrupting many debtors, unless due consideration was had of their situation, the hard-money men were divided into two classes along the lines of the different ways in which that was to be accomplished which both desired. Hutchinson, who was in favor in 1749 of adopting

the heroic method and bringing the Province abruptly to a specie basis, thus wrote concerning the situation:—

“Those who were for a fixed currency were divided. Some supposed the bills might be reduced to so small a quantity as to be fixed and stable, and therefore were for redeeming as many by bills of exchange as should be thought superfluous; others were for putting an end to the bills, but in a gradual way, otherwise it was said a *fatal shock* would be given to trade. This last was the objection of many men of good sense. Douglass, who had wrote well upon the paper currency, and had been the oracle of the anti-paper party, was among them, and, as his manner was with all who differed from him, discovered as much rancour against the author and promoters of this new project, as he had done against the fraudulent contrivers of paper money emissions.

“The bills, it was said, had sunk gradually in their value from 6s. 10½*d.* to 60s. an ounce; by this means creditors had been defrauded; it was but reasonable they should rise gradually, that justice might be done. But the creditors and debtors would not be the same in one instance in a thousand, and where this was not the case, the injury was the same, to oblige any one to pay more as to receive less than was justly due.”¹

As early as when the “Letter to a Member of the House,” etc. was written the same state of affairs existed and the same arguments were used. On page 3 we find: “We have many men among us who are for using no means to relieve us, only wait with Patience till the Bills that are now extant are all brought in, as in a few Years they must be: For, say they, as the Bills by multiplying have been depreciated, so consequently as they are diminished and the Periods for their being drawn in approach, they must rise in their value.”

When the author comes to the argument, he says (page 4): “However, let us suppose, that our Bills may come to rights themselves, and that as they have gradually fallen, so they will gradually rise again, yet it would never be just and reasonable that they should, for as much wrong and injustice would be occasioned by their rising, as has already been by their falling.”

Those who were affected by the depreciation of the bills were defined by Hutchinson as follows: “The depreciation was grievous to all creditors, but particularly distressing to the

¹ History of Massachusetts, vol. ii. p. 393.

clergy and other salary-men, to widows and orphans whose estates consisted of money at interest, perhaps just enough to support them, and being reduced to one half the former value they found themselves on a sudden in a state of poverty and want.”¹ The writer of the pamphlet, on page 2, sets forth that “Widows with the Orphans” are the sufferers through the depreciation; “The Clergy and most other Salary Men,” and “Every person who has debts out of a long standing.”

Perhaps the development of the opinions expressed in the History and in the pamphlet might be carried still farther, but it has already been pursued to a point which can only be justified by the importance which attaches to the written or spoken words of Governor Hutchinson upon questions of the currency. He does not stand forth conspicuous among the men of his day for his statesmanship. He was not a great leader, but fate placed him in a position where he was able to accomplish more for the material prosperity of Massachusetts than can be attributed to any one man in the eighteenth century. To him the Province owed the passage of the Act for establishing a silver currency. Writing about fifteen or sixteen years after the Act took effect, he said: “The apprehension of a *shock* to trade proved groundless; the bills being dispersed through every part of the Province, the silver took place instead of them, a good currency was insensibly substituted in the room of a bad one, and every branch of business was carried on to a greater advantage than before. The other governments, especially Connecticut and Rhode Island, who refused, upon being invited to conform their currency to Massachusetts, felt a *shock* in their trade which they have not yet recovered.” This prosperity brought Massachusetts to the front and gave her a commercial prestige the traditions of which still linger. The study of the connection of the Hutchinsons, father and son, with these events has brought to light in an unexpected manner the perseverance of the father in his steadfast resistance to the inflationists, and has developed the source of the Governor’s faith in what was then termed a “fixed currency.” In his unflinching hostility to paper money the Governor was treading in the footsteps of his father.

¹ History of Massachusetts, vol. ii. p. 210.

The application of the various tests proposed has resulted in disclosing that the writer of the pamphlet and the author of the History shared the same opinions upon the currency question; that they employed similar language, covering even the peculiar use of words and characteristic constructions of sentences, in which to express their opinions; that the methods by which they would have returned to a specie basis were identical; and that in the silver rate proposed for the notes, and in the argument based upon the little effect on the discount of the currency produced by the withdrawal of the Merchants' Notes, we almost reach the personal test imposed by Trumbull.

Thus we find community of principle, harmony of purpose, and identity of methods between these authors, and we see in their productions a similarity of style, which we know to be restricted in its use to the pamphlet and the History. The conclusion must be, it seems to me, not merely that we can judge who might have written the pamphlet, but that it is fairly entitled to be enrolled among the writings of him, the crowning glory of whose life it was that he was mainly instrumental in pulling his native province out of the Slough of Despond into which she had been plunged by the inflationists.

The pamphlet referred to in Mr. Davis's paper is here reprinted with the original pagination indicated.

A

LETTER

TO A

Member of the Honourable House

of

REPRESENTATIVES

On the present State of the
Bills of Credit.

*Jactabatur enim temporibus illis nummus, sic ut
nemo posset scire quid haberet.* Cicero

BOSTON

Printed in the Year, MDCCXXXVI.

[1] SIR,

THE Interest of any People depends so much on a proper regulation of their Money or Medium of Trade, that I am perswaded you will not be displeas'd at my freedom in sending you my Sentiments on the present fluctuating and unsettled Condition of our Money.

Every one is ready to acknowledge that the Bills of Credit, which are the only current Money of the Province, are far from answering the end propos'd at their first Emission; for without doubt the Legislature then in being expected they would keep their value, and serve for a Measure of Commerce, which ought always to be invariable: But instead of answering their expectation, they have been gradually sinking, till at length *Twenty Seven Shillings* of them, the price of an Ounce of Silver, is but equal to *Eight Shillings* at first.

The very great mischief that the thus sinking the Credit of our Bills has produc'd, is so plain & obvious, and has been felt by so many Persons, that one would think it need not be describ'd. The Widow with the Orphans, whose Money was under the management of their Guardians, and who could improve it only by letting it on Interest, have not one third left of what they [2] possess'd Twenty Years ago. The Clergy and most other Salary Men are great Sufferers; and every Person who has debts out of a long standing, has lost more by the falling of the Money, than the ordinary profits in Trade will countervail. In short, most of us have been deluded and carried away with an empty sound, and the Man whose Estate was worth so much last Year, is apt to imagine, if he can call it the same this, it is not decreas'd, tho' perhaps it really is a fifth part; and he governs his Expences accordingly.

But this is what you have often seen in Print, and it's become Common-place Talk, and in the Mouths of all sorts of People. What we are more divided about is, The cause of the Bills being depreciated. Which plainly, I think, appears to be this. They were Emitt'd on a meer imaginary bottom, and are never to be paid off. The Land Security that is given for them, is a sufficient Surety to the Province, that they shall be paid in again, but its no Security to the Possessors or the Persons that give a Credit to them, that they shall keep their value, and that *Twenty Shillings* of them shall purchase as much Silver or Gold the next Year, as it does the present; so that we may rather wonder they have not fell to *Forty Shillings* per Ounce or even to their first nothing, than that they have sunk to what they now are.

Now as the Government have brought us into all these Difficulties, so it is they only must extricate us; and since the danger of our continuing to suffer is so apparent, if they neglect all Remedies, and leave the Money of the Province to continue under its present Circumstances, I think they may be charg'd with as great Injustice, as if they took the Estate of one Man and gave it to another, without any reason or pretence for so doing.

[3] But what Methods are proper to be taken in order to relieve us, we are too much divided in our Sentiments to determine. I can't find an Instance of any State's being brought into Circumstances exactly like ours. *Cicero* tells us, that the Money of the old Romans in the time of their Consuls, was so fluctuating, that it was not possible for any Man to know what he was worth : And this I think plainly appears to be the Case with us at this day. But then he says nothing of the cause of it, nor how at last it was settled, only that *C. Marius* by whose Wisdom and Prudence it was effected, had the greatest Honours confer'd upon him, Statues erected in every Street, and render'd himself very dear to the People. The clipping and debasing the Money of *England* in King *WILLIAM*'s time, had the same influence on their Credit, as the sinking of our Currency has on our's. But it was easier to be remedy'd ; for although the Coin was so far diminish'd or debas'd that *Five Pounds* in Silver Specie was scarce worth *Forty Shillings*, yet there was some intrinsick value left ; and as it was Silver that was still current, the recoinng of it according to the Standard, intirely retriev'd the value of it without any loss or inconvenience to the Possessor, who suffer'd only in denomination and sound, for his Half Crown in new Money would immediately purchase him more than a Crown of the old. But here we have no Silver or Gold to work upon, and instead of an intrinsick real value, the Money we have left has only a meer imaginary one.

We have many Men among us who are for using no means to relieve us, only wait with Patience till the Bills that are now extant are all brought in, as in a few Years they must be : For, say they, as the Bills by multiplying have been depreciated, so consequently as they are diminished and the Periods for their be- [4] ing drawn in approach, they must rise in their value : And its true, that immediately after a large Emission, the currency has always fell, but then no consequence follows from thence, that upon the quantities being lessen'd, it must rise again ; nay the contrary is evident from Experience as well as Reason : And we may instance in the late sudden stop put to the currency of the Merchants Notes, as they are called ; for tho' the Emission of them, with other Bills at the same time, sunk our Money at least twenty five *Per Cent*, yet their ceasing has not reduc'd it in any degree.

But it's argued, that in a little time the Bills of the Province will fall into the Hands of a few Persons, and every one that has Taxes to pay must purchase them at what rates they'l please to demand. But surely, no Man in his senses can think the Government will ever suffer such Oppression as this, and it is our Happiness that they are already thinking of an expedient to prevent it.

However let us suppose, that our Bills may come to rights of them-

selves, and that as they have gradually fallen, so they will gradually rise again, yet it would never be just and reasonable that they should, for as much wrong and injustice would be occasion'd by their rising, as has already been by their falling. It is undoubtedly a great Injury to the Creditor, who contracted a Debt many Years ago, when Silver was at *Eight Shillings* the Ounce, that he is forc'd to receive it at *Sixteen* or *Twenty Shillings*, or may be now it is at *Twenty Seven Shillings*; and will it not be equally injurious to a Man who borrows Money, or contracts a debt to day, when Silver is at *Twenty Seven Shillings* per Ounce, if he should pay it some time hence at *Twenty, Ten, or Eight Shillings* per Ounce; for whether the Creditor be forc'd to receive less, or the Deb- [5] tor to pay more than he contracted, the Injury is the same, and some Body is defrauded of their due.

But I need say no more to convince you, that this method is neither expedient nor practicable. And I am satisfy'd that nothing will effectually serve for an Instrument of Commerce in any particular Kingdom or Government, but what Mankind by universal assent have plac'd a value on. Indeed if we had no Correspondence with the rest of the World, and all our Trade and Business was with one another, and within our selves, I don't see why Leather, Paper, or any thing that we agreed to and put a Stamp on, should not answer the end as well as Silver, provided it be durable, and we have but just a sufficient quantity of it. If this be true, then nothing can relieve us, but the putting a stop to our present Currency, that has only an imaginary value, and introducing Silver and Gold, which the World has given a real value to. The easiest and best way therefore of doing this is what we must pitch upon. It can't be done, as you have heard it propos'd, by a Tax on the People: For how is it possible at this day, for a Farmer or a Tradesman to find Silver or Gold to satisfy their Taxes. It must be the Merchant and Man in Trade, and he only that can introduce it. And if any way can be found that this may be done with advantage both to the Undertakers and the Publick, that certainly is what we must come into.

The Scheme which has been several times before the General Court, appears to me the best calculated for this purpose of any I have yet heard of. And that we may better examine it & judge of it, let us first see the Scheme itself; the substance of which I shall give you in as few words, and as comprehensive as may be.

[6] That the Sum of be Emitted by the Government in New Bills of a different tenor from those already extant, to be let out to such Persons as will oblige themselves to pay for each Thousand Pounds annually, *One Hundred & Ten Pounds* for Ten Years, in Silver Coin after the rate of *Six Shillings & Ten Pence* per Ounce, or Gold Coin in proportion.

This will lay a sufficient Fund for the redeeming or exchanging of said Bills; and accordingly at the end of Five Years there shall be delivered to the Possessor of any and all of them one half of their value in Silver at *Six Shillings & Ten Pence* the Ounce, or Gold in proportion; and the other half in new bills, which new Bills shall be paid off or exchanged at the end of other Five Years.

That these Bills in all Courts, shall be adjudg'd a legal tender and discharge for all Debts Contracts or Obligations whatever, and for all Specialties payable in Silver and Gold, the Bonds and Obligations of the Undertakers in this Scheme excepted.

That *Six Shillings & Ten Pence* of these Bills shall be receiv'd in all Payments, and made equal to one Ounce of Silver, and to of the old Bills, and so of consequence shall discharge of all Debts that are already contracted.

That the Currency of the Bills of the other Governments be forbidden, and that all Persons who tender or receive the same, be liable to a severe penalty.

There can be but two Objections against this Scheme. The principal is, that the Bills will not always purchase so much Silver as they are to be exchang'd for, but that there will be a discount proportionable to the distance of the Periods when they are paid off; for [7] certainly a Note payable five or ten Years hence, is not so good as one payable on demand.

But I fancy you'l not find so much weight in this Objection as appears at first sight; for though a Note of Hand payable at a distant Period, is not equal to one payable on demand, yet a Bond which carries Interest where the Security is certain, is very little inferior and by many Persons esteem'd equal to Money in Hand; and I think the Case the same with these Bills as with a Bond with Interest; and any Person may make the same advantage from them as from such a Bond. Please to suppose that you are possess'd of a *Thousand Pounds* in these Bills, which are by Law the Money of the Province and in which, or in Silver and Gold all Debts are to be paid, you let the same to your Neighbour, receive the annual Interest of *Six* per Cent. and at the Periods when they are to be exchang'd receive the Principal, what difference does it make to you the being possess'd of these Bills or a Bond with Interest for Silver, or even of the Silver and Gold it self. And here lay the great defect of the Merchants Notes, that they were not the Money of the Province; for had there been an Act that all Debts should be paid in those Notes, or in Silver or Gold at the rates express'd every Person who had Debts outstanding, would have been as secure as those Gentlemen are who have taken Bonds to be paid in the said Notes, or in Silver at *Nineteen Shillings* per Ounce;

and I am satisfy'd not one of those, provided their Bonds were good, would repent their bargain. Were *Sixty Thousand Pounds* of these Bills once current among us, the currency of the Bills of the other Governments entirely ceas'd, and to facilitate the affair, would most of our Merchants endeavour to introduce the currency of Silver and Gold, by passing it with the Bills, though but in a small proportion, I am perswaded that, as the Bills alone would not be suffi- [8] cient for the Trade of the Province, we should quickly see Silver and Gold current with them, and no better esteem'd than they. The Bills of our Neighbours at *New-York* are on no better foundation than our's that are already extant, only as they have but very few, and not enough to carry on their Trade, Gold and Silver passing current with them, and at the rates fix'd by the Government, in a great measure supports their Credit. But allowing there should be a discount on these Bills, it is impossible it should be any thing considerable, for then any Man by letting his Money to Interest without any risque, might make a greater advantage than can be had ordinarily in Trade, though attended with trouble as well as risque; I say, allowing there should be a small discount, surely it is better than to continue in our present Condition. If any other or better method can be propos'd to satisfy Men who will be content with nothing but perfect demonstration, I shall be glad we may come into it.

The other Objection which has a dependance on the former is, The Undertakers will be in such danger of suffering, that there will not be found Persons enough to engage in it: The Merchants have been hurt by their late Scheme, and therefore will not be fond of trying another, which their's was so much like.

But I am satisfied their own Scheme will convince them that this must be profitable, and they must know that the only thing they wanted was such an Act to support them, which destroys the Bills of the other Governments, and also makes all common Debts as good as their Bonds & Specialties, excepting the Interest they carry: And for my part, I am so convinc'd of the profit of it, that I should be willing to engage for as large a Sum as my Estate and Circumstances will admit of. But allowing there should be [9] any difficulty here, which I think cannot be, it is undoubtedly the Interest of the Province to give a still greater encouragement rather than continue as we are.

I think nothing need be said to that Objection, that Silver and Gold will never tarry among us, till by retrenching our Expences and improving our Trade, we bring the balance in our favour. The first and main thing that we stand in need of is the fixing and ascertaining the Money, and so the Debts of the Province, which has a tendency to lessen our Extravagance, and to improve our Trade, which has really been on the decay, ever since the depretiating our Money, and without this imaginary Wealth we should never had a supply for so much Luxury and Extravagance as there is among us.

I pray, Sir, you would consider that the Government is the Guarantee that all just & legal Contracts shall be perform'd; but with us they are daily broken, & necessarily will be so, whilst our Money continues in its present fluctuating Circumstances. If a Cure be effected the benefit is so great, & on the contrary if nothing be done the extreme Calamity is so evident, that I'm satisfy'd you'l chuse rather to run the hazard of some small inconveniencies in order to relieve us, than by a longer neglect to expose the Country to apparent ruin.

I am,

SIR

Your Humble Servant

Philopatriæ.

*Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.*

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said : —

It is always a gratifying fact to know that persons outside of its membership consider the Historical Society a safe depository for relics and manuscripts. Within a few days the commission of Lieut. Gamaliel Whiting, of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, dated May 19, 1775, and signed by Joseph Warren, was sent to the library. It was given at the request of Francis Whiting, formerly of Great Barrington, a grandson of the officer, who died at Jeffersonville, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, on January 27, 1896. It is handsomely framed, and was sent under the advice of Mr. Whiting's widow.

Mr. ALBERT B. HART, from the Committee on Historical Manuscripts, communicated copies of the circulars which had been prepared by the Committee for distribution.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Mr. BARRETT WENDELL and the PRESIDENT; and it was announced that the next meeting of the Society would probably be held in the new building.

MEMOIR
OF
JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D.

BY HORACE E. SCUDDER.

JUSTIN, son of Nathaniel, Jr., and Ann Thomas (Howland) Winsor, was born January 2, 1831, in Boston, and spent his life in that city and its neighborhood; but he was equally at home in the town of Duxbury, Massachusetts, the birthplace of both his father and mother. So deeply planted were the Winsors and Howlands in the soil of the Old Colony, and so much additional stock came with his own marriage that Justin Winsor, who had a strong sense of ancestry and kinship, used to say of his daughter Constance, that no one living had more Pilgrim blood than she.¹ He was the second son of the name, the first Justin dying in infancy; he had a brother and sister in his childhood, both of whom died early, and one sister, eleven years his junior, who lived to womanhood.²

Mr. Nathaniel Winsor, Jr., was a prosperous merchant of Boston, and lived, when Justin was a boy, in Allen Street, at that time in a substantial neighborhood at the West End of the city. He was a ship-broker with large connections, and at one time controlled a line of packets to New Orleans; he was one of the first also to establish a regular line of sailing packets between the Atlantic coast and San Francisco, and abandoned the enterprise only when the Union Pacific Railroad was opened. During twenty-three years he loaded over three hundred and fifty ships for San Francisco. In politics Mr. Winsor was a Whig, and his religious affiliations are indicated by the fact that he was one of the founders of the (Unitarian) Church of the Unity.

¹ If any one could have disputed this statement a little later, it would have been his granddaughter, Penelope Barker Noyes.

² Cordelia Arthur, widow of Alden L. Drake, died at West Roxbury, December 15, 1889.

He was in the midst of these activities when his son was a student at Harvard, and like many merchants was deeply engrossed in his business; yet those who saw him in his serene old age when after some severe reverses he had wholly retired from business, think of him as a strikingly handsome man, a lover of books and simple pleasures. Such he undoubtedly was all his life, even if he chose to forego much of this sort of intellectual gratification in the time of his closest application to business. There is a picture of him drawn by his solicitous son when a sophomore at college which has a double interest from the likeness to the original and the glimpse it gives of the portrait-painter's own mind:—

"I have hopes to get father into better ways. He generally comes home at night, gets a cigar, sits and thinks, thinks and thinks of his business without relaxation, and allows it even to disturb his nights; 'tis business, business, business. The human mind cannot endure without a change; relaxation is necessary. The late Ezra Weston of Duxbury, at the same time he was amassing a large fortune, lost in a measure his mind, which was worn out by a constant exercise in the same way. I ought to feel thankful to a parent who must thus sacrifice a great portion of this world's pleasure for obtaining that for his children which will enable them to live in ease, — and perhaps kill themselves by too close application to books."¹

Justin Winsor's introduction to the knowledge of literature was early. He had occasion once to quote Byron's saying that the "trunk-maker was the sexton of authorship," and it recalled his own experience as a child not yet seven sent for punishment into an ante-chamber in the school-room, where in petulance he kicked and hauled at an old trunk, which sprang open and proved to be lined with printed sheets. "I remember plainly," he wrote, "the large caption at the top of the page, and how I read it out: 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' For amusement I began to read the pages and soon became most intensely interested. The pages in sight happened to contain that gorgeous description of Bagdad. How I still remember those magnificent palaces of the Caliphs. Time passed quickly, and I was almost unconscious of its fleeing, until the door opened, and in rushed the whole school for their hats, caps, and outward apparel."

¹ Mr. Winsor died at his home in West Roxbury, April 7, 1893. Mrs. Winsor survived him in the same home until January 7, 1899.

When scarcely more than a child he was sent to a boarding-school in Sandwich, but his preparation for college was at the Boston Latin School. He always hated school and its tasks, not because he was indolent, but for the opposite reason. He was so absorbed in his own intellectual pursuits that he was impatient of the restrictions of school and class work. The Mexican war was going on at this time; his father held the exclusive right to charter vessels and transport troops and supplies from Boston and some other ports to the Gulf, and the boy's diary, which he began early, is crowded with accounts of actions and movements of troops. But the Mexican war was only one of his interests. There are all sorts of tables; lists of governors of the State; comparisons of speed; railroad statistics; analyses of membership in the House and Senate; scraps of verse and pithy sayings which have struck him in his reading; indignant championship of General Taylor, who was his hero; and most noticeable of all, as presaging his historical pursuits, a series of anniversary parallels. He drew one between 1631, when the "Blessing of the Bay" was launched, and 1847; between July 4, 1776, and the same date in 1847. When the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill occurred in 1847, he made a vivacious entry, and the next day he noted the fact that sixty-nine years before, the British evacuated Philadelphia, and again that on the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain in consequence of her treatment of American shipping, which he details at length, ending with a boy's energetic flourish: "Thus was a war declared which was justifiable if ever a war was. It was not as the war of the United States with Mexico, of England in Hindostan, of Russia in Circassia and Georgia, of France in Algeria is, — a bull-dog fighting a poodle, but a poodle fighting a bull-dog; and the poodle proved a bull-dog, and the bull-dog proved a poodle." When he was in Duxbury he would seize upon the latest package of newspapers sent down from Boston, and set about extracting the most important items of news for his note-book.

These early journals are absolutely free from any subjective comment, but they emphasize the fact of the writer's comparative social isolation, his dislike of school, and his absorption, even as a boy, in pursuits which made him find a journal more companionable than a schoolmate. He formed friendships at

the time which endured, but his friends remember him then as silent and reserved.

It is not altogether surprising to find him, while still a school-boy, attending meetings of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and even, as he records under date of November 1, 1848, making "a few remarks about the state of the Duxbury Records and the old graveyard." For he had already, in the year before he entered college, set about compiling the history of his father's and mother's native town; and the first entry in his college journal, August 29, 1849, is a bit of self-gratulation at having a room by himself, as he is hard at work on the proofs of his "History of the Town of Duxbury." On October 27 of the same year he notes: "Got some of my books [bound] for the first time. . . . I received my first proof Saturday, July 14, 1849, just fifteen weeks ago."

He at once had an interleaved copy bound, and from that day till near the end of his life, extended the work with all manner of printed and written memorabilia of the town and its people. That he had occasion to make some corrections was natural enough, but he had the instinct of an antiquarian, and a superficial view of the work would never betray the youth of the author. The interleaved copy is a curious museum of Duxbury antiquities.

A reputation as the author of an antiquarian work was a singular introduction to Harvard College, and it set at once a sort of stamp upon him in his own regard of himself as well as in that of his fellows. It gave him a masonic grip of the otherwise somewhat tightly closed hand of Mr. Sibley, his long-time predecessor in Gore Hall, who was himself at this time busy with his own "History of Union," and must have looked with mingled respect and concern at a freshman in the same field. Mr. Sibley welcomed him in the library, and introduced him to visitors, and at the young man's request gave him a note of introduction to Professor Longfellow.

The ostensible reason for the introduction was the student's desire to make some inquiries respecting the Wadsworth family, and it is an amusing anticipation of his later occupation to find him asking the poet how he could get access to the Wadsworth papers. But though the visit seemed prompted by genealogical zeal, it is clear, from the evidence which his journals and scribblings of the time afford, that Winsor was

now and for a long time to come most deeply interested in pure literature. The set of his mind before he had become well established in college was toward history and genealogical research; he was to resume these interests in a very positive manner in his maturity; but while he was a collegian, and afterward when studying abroad, as well as in the first years of his return, the goal of his ambition was to be a writer, a poet he even dreamed at times, but at all events distinctly a man of letters.

In common with other students from Boston, he was wont to spend his Sundays at home, where he divided his time between reading and church-going with an increasing disinclination to giving up his book. When he was nearing the end of his college days, he broke out in his blunt, truthful manner: "I don't believe, if it were not for my mother, I should ever go to church, for I am always uneasy there. I don't hear one sermon in ten that will pay me sufficiently for the loss I sustain. I leave a good book—and I do not read any book that I can't think much and holily about, and reading is the best thing to induce thinking—and go to hear a sermon, the substance of which I have heard again and again. Nothing new! nothing consequently to make you think. Therefore I am uneasy and long to come home. I hate those sermons which are little else than irreligious wranglings on religion."

In those days in Boston the conception of religion was largely bound up with church-going, and church-going was centred in sermon-hearing. An active-minded, healthy young collegian might easily enter a protest without a practical denial of the deeper sense of religion; and the reserve, the isolation indeed which marked Winsor's temperament withdrew him from expression of his beliefs. He hated wrangling, and above all on topics connected with religion, but he committed to his confidential diary some of the thoughts about God and of his own relation to Him which lay at the bottom of his mind, below the uneasy currents of speculation.

He went up to college with habits of semi-seclusion partially formed, and these were confirmed by his mode of life. He cared nothing for athletic sports, and found his exercise in the saddle and his most constant companion in his dog. Day after day was spent from early dawn to bedtime in reading, scribbling, attendance at lectures, dropping in at Bartlett's book-

store, going to or coming from his room, and a long solitary ride into the country. His social life was largely confined to a share in the Institute of 1770 and two or three semi-secret societies compounded apparently in equal parts of fun, college politics, oratory, and debating. He gave himself most eagerly to the pleasures and duties of a Literary Coterie which he with half-a-dozen companions kept up during the latter half of his college course.

He had an admiration for President Sparks, and he began his college life with a faithful attendance upon college exercises, in spite of their irksomeness to him. But the moment he was released he went straight to books, either in the college library, where he was made at home, or amongst the treasures which he had begun to collect for himself. His father was generous, but his own tastes were simple and his wants few. Apparently, to judge from his expense account, the books he bought cost him more than his horse, or his own term and board bill, but he seemed not to care about rarities. He surrounded himself with good editions of the best English authors and read untiringly, keeping a commonplace book, and filling his journal with comments on his reading.

His favorite subject was the literary life. He read industriously all the lives of English writers, and filled pages with analyses and criticisms. "I intend," he writes at the head of one of his blank books, "to record here what observations may occur to me on the literary character, and whatever interesting and singular facts I may meet with," and getting hold of a work dealing with the disorders of literary men, he proceeded to analyze at considerable length the mortality of this class from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

In truth he was finding himself at this time, and his search was along a solitary path. The society he sought was chiefly that of dead and buried men of letters, and the experiments which he himself began to make in literature were for the most part secret and confided only to his diary. He made essays in verse, and confessed to a longing, which he seemed unable to gratify, for some friend of fine taste with whom he could confer about his attempts. He knew the glow which warms the young writer, and he suffered also from the presence of the dead ashes which followed when the fire of enthusiasm had gone out.

His plans for larger poetical composition had for their basis his latent historical aptitudes. He sketched at some length a poem which was to involve the characteristics of early New England life as discoverable in the records and social life of Duxbury; and he thought he saw the possibilities of a large canvas in the half-mythical adventures of the Norsemen in America.

In the restlessness of his hunt after his true vocation, and in the balancing of the profit and loss of a life of letters, his active, experimental nature was bound to find some outlet which would be more of a test than poems which no one but the author read. Perhaps it was of a piece with his half-eremitic life, finding companionship chiefly in books and the remote writers of books, that he took to going assiduously alone to the theatre. The best actors and actresses attracted him, and he went again and again to see Charlotte Cushman, Booth, Forrest, and others, and came home to write criticism of their acting. He was particularly interested in the comedy of Sheridan and Goldsmith. "The School for Scandal" called him to the theatre apparently every time it was acted, and he notes of one of the scenes: "If I see it every night, it will make me laugh almost to the danger of my life. I don't know so fine a scene in the whole range of English comedy."

He caught the fever of writing for the stage, as these entries from his diary show: —

"*Friday.* After breakfast, sat down and began a farce and finished it just as the bell rang for dinner. In the evening copied it. It was my first thing. 'Don't get into a Passion.'

"*Saturday.* Carried my farce into town, and left it at the box office of the Museum, directed to W. H. Smith, the stage manager, in a letter as follows: 'Dear Sir, you have before you the production of a novice, — a student who has stolen a few hours from his work, and one who can as well rest with respect as attention. Read it, and if you find it unworthy of attention, burn it; if a better fate be decreed, perhaps you would like to confer with the author, who will answer all demands, addressed to J. W., care of box 1708, Boston Post-office.' Came out to supper. After I went to bed at night, composed and arranged my next farce, 'The Sophomore.' Next day wrote it out."

Two farces in three days was a characteristic performance of one of the most industrious and one of the swiftest workers of his generation. The note accompanying his first farce shows

how completely he had assimilated the historic flavor of his favorite period. He wrote more than one farce or comedy afterward, but it does not appear that J. W. ever had the opportunity of conferring with the stage manager. It is more to the point that out of this strong interest in English comedy sprang a piece of work which was much more distinctive of his intellectual aptitudes than the writing of plays.

In November, 1850, he entered in his diary a note to the effect that he entertained the idea of writing a Life of Garrick, and his reading soon showed signs of this intention. He made a list in 1851 of books examined in preparation for a Life of David Garrick. Eleven years later he had apparently covered the field so far as accumulation of material was concerned. His list of books and articles examined, many of them added to his library, was not far from nine hundred. The work, as it finally took shape, belongs to the class of extended books; that is, of books having a substantial entity of their own, and also through natural or forced relationships permitting the inclusion of a great deal of ancillary matter. Thus, by making Garrick the centre of a group, Mr. Winsor was able to take into his plan the whole circle which usually is made to surround Johnson, to include Churchill, Hogarth, and of course the actors and actresses of the day. Indeed, it was the reading of Boswell's Life of Johnson which set him on this task. He collected a good deal of material before leaving Cambridge, and as we shall see later made it the main occupation of some busy years.

His interest in the literary history of Shakespeare began at the same time, and he planned a liberal system of memoranda of his reading against a possible variorum and critical edition of Shakespeare which he might prepare, for he was not satisfied with Knight's edition which he was using, and he had seen no other which came up to his demand.

All this while, though he gave greatest attention to literature, he did not altogether lay aside his interest in historical pursuits, and he made experiments in writing in this direction also. He prepared a lecture on the northern campaign of the Revolution, for which he painted some "diagram-like maps," and he sought his material in the archives of the State House and an old diary which had been lent him. He was asked to go on the Publication Committee of the New England Historic-

Genealogical Society, and had frequent intercourse with Mr. Drake the antiquarian.

All these enterprises and adventures are duly recorded in his diary, but the contents of his well-filled note-books betray a growing consciousness of self which was wholly wanting in his school-boy records. His absorption in books and experiments in authorship were partly the cause, partly the effect of his solitary life. He withdrew more and more into himself. College exercises became intolerably intrusive, and Winsor came to feel himself wholly out of place. He hated the task-work, and finally so rebelled against all compulsory attendance that he invited collegiate discipline, and underwent a sort of suspension, by which however he appears to have been allowed to remain in Cambridge and devote himself still more uninterruptedly to his private reading.

He became moody and uneasy under this experience, and longed to make some sort of escape from the limitations, as he regarded them, of college life. President Sparks and Dr. Walker, with whom he seemed to talk very frankly, finally humored his bent; his father's reluctance was overcome, and abandoning college at the beginning of his senior year, he relinquished his purpose of taking a degree and packed his trunk for a journey to Europe, meaning to pursue his studies at a German university.¹

He sailed from New York for Havre, October 11, 1852. On shipboard he watched his fellow-passengers, played with the children, read Shakespeare, and wrote long, minute letters home. His fidelity in this matter of letter-writing was constant. During his last sojourn in England in the summer of 1897 he wrote and despatched to his aged mother a letter or note of some sort every day. The habit of journalizing and letter-writing became fixed early and never left him. It was at once the refuge of a solitary and the vent of an affectionate, undemonstrative man. In one of his long stays abroad he wrote letters of several sheets each two or three times a month to a school-girl friend; and the charm of the letters lay in the quiet assumption of perfect mutual understanding. There was not a particle of condescension in them, and the only difference to be discerned between them and those he wrote to

¹ He received his A.B. degree at Harvard in 1868, when he was restored to his class, that of 1853.

the girl's father was in the care he took to choose incidents and experiences for narration which had picturesque qualities. Afterward, when the girl visited some of the places Mr. Winsor had described in his letters seven years before, the vivid pictures he had drawn recurred like the experience of an earlier journey.

During the two years of his absence from home he wrote with great fulness and regularity to the home circle, making his journal scarcely more than a memorandum of his movements. He reached Havre October 28, and went at once to Paris, where he settled down to the study of French, and resumed his old practice of abundant reading and theatre-going, only now he had Rachel to see instead of the players at the Boston Museum. He explored the city with a special regard for the historic aspects, and it chanced that he was in Paris when the Empire was declared, and also at the marriage of the Emperor. He used often to recount his experience of the former occasion, and one of his letters home at the time gives, with graphic touches, the basis of his reminiscences later:—

“PARIS, December 2, 1852.

“The day has closed on Imperial France. The name of Republicanism is past and gone; its spirit went some time ago. The painters are at work obliterating its symbols in public places. The Empire has been proclaimed, and an Emperor has entered its capital.

“I was awakened this morning by the firing of cannon announcing the expected day. At nine o'clock I went out. The weather was cold and damp. A drizzly rain filled the atmosphere. At all the street-corners bulletins were posted announcing the event which was to occur. Crowds of people were gathered around them. Nearly every one smiled as he read, but said nothing. The omnibuses had flying above their doors little tri-colored flags stamped with imperial signs. Here and there a shopkeeper or a householder displayed one from his door or window. I had learned that the Empire was to be publicly proclaimed at ten o'clock at the Hôtel de Ville, and so I went there. I found the front of the building covered with decorations and imperial symbols. Groups of flags, velvet banners marked with golden figures, and a hanging pavilion of tapestry over the main entrance, where a platform was erected, and the pennants streaming on the roof, the painted, cloud-surrounded, royal arms on a large canvas above,—all was arranged with a taste and an elegance native to the people.

“In front of the pavilion lines of troops formed an open square, and the populace was assembled without it, though not in such numbers as

I had expected. At the appointed hour the Prefect of the Seine, the chief officer of the department of which Paris is a part, and who makes the Hôtel de Ville his official municipal residence, came forward from within, followed by a concourse of other persons, who arranged themselves along the platform. He was a large, portly man, dressed in black, with a silver-wrought coat, but yet rather vulgar in his appearance, which was not at all remedied as he stood up, scratched his head, picked his nose, rubbed his belly, and put his hands in his pockets. Drums beat, music played, and then he stepped forward with the document which he read, bowing at the close of each sentence. Not a word was uttered by the crowd. As he finished, he raised his hat with a flourish, and shouted, 'Vive l'Empereur.' A partial and rather faint response of a single shout came from the crowd. Drums again rolled, and the troops filed away, company by company, marching and counter-marching by the pavilion, and shouting 'Vive l'Empereur,' as they passed it, as well as they could with moving nothing but their lips. The Prefect took off his hat to each, and rubbed his belly with increasing vigor.

"When all had passed, the line broken, the space open, the populace moved forward towards the stand. The Prefect again cried, 'Vive l'Empereur,' but got about as many shouts as before. Then, rubbing his belly with still greater power, he turned his back on them, and disappeared, followed by his company, who sate down with him to a sumptuous breakfast.

"I went along to the Palais Royal and got mine. When I had finished it was nearly twelve o'clock, which was the hour that his Majesty was to leave the Palace of St. Cloud for entering the city. So I started for the garden of the Tuileries. I met going there a procession of artisans, preceded by a banner, inscribed 'Vive l'Empereur,' and raising that shout at intervals as they went along. In the garden I found the main avenue that leads to the palace already lined on each side by files of soldiers, and crowds of people were collected on the outer sides. I selected a place, hired a chair, got up in it so I could look over the heads of the soldiers, and stood there nearly an hour.

"It was cold, though it had ceased to rain. French men and women were chatting indiscriminately, as they always do in public places, all about me; bands were playing along the line; detachments were marching and forming here and there. Mounted officers were riding back and forth, up and down the middle. The veterans of the Invalides, each bearing a staff and the tri-colored flag. Limpers there were among them, and blinded eyes and armless shoulders. They came to recognize a new Emperor in the nephew of the Emperor they had served. Many of them wore their old uniforms, which had been the terror of nations in the glorious days of France.

"Then came along an officer of rank in full scarlet uniform, attended by some other officers, passing along in review of the line. 'Ugh! see the Englishman,' I heard all about me. At last orders were given to shoulder, then present arms, and I knew the cortége was near. First came a body of officers mounted, of all sorts of uniforms. Then a space, then alone, on a dark cream-colored horse, Majesty itself, clothed in green and gold. His person is fair-proportioned and middling. His face wears a very amiable and benevolent expression, which is not at all marred, but rather softened, by a heavy light-brown mustache and imperial. A few cried 'Vive l'Empereur,' but more took off their hats and said nothing. He returned the salutes by lifting his hat frequently and gracefully, and also, as the papers will say, I suppose, 'graciously.' On each side of the line a woman rushed between the soldiers and extended to him a bouquet; he wheeled his horse, raised his hat, but police officers were ready to take both bouquets and women out of the way. Following him came another motley throng of officers, and a corps of cavalry ended the scene. At the palace door he was received, I believe, by Prince Jerome Bonaparte and others, but I did not go to see, for my French lesson hour was come, and I hurried home, where I found M. Fouché waiting for me."

Although he made some journeys, chiefly on foot, the young student passed his two years mainly in Paris and in Heidelberg, studying French and German. He wrote home constantly, describing the life about him and the little adventures he met in his walks, often illustrating his letters with sketches and maps; he made a few acquaintances, chiefly among the Americans with whom he was thrown, and he commented to some extent upon the social and political life which went on about him. But, after all, he carried with him to Europe the tastes and habits which marked him in Cambridge as a bookish man. He spent a fair share of his allowance in buying English, French, and German books; he read steadily, and as his father was building a new house in Blackstone Square, at the South End of Boston, he sent home letter after letter full of suggestions and drawings for the arrangement and equipment of the library on which he had set his heart.

Yet the most noticeable characteristic of this full communication with his home is the testimony it bears to the singularly filial nature of the writer. I have pointed out the independence of mind which he displayed, but this independence never extended to his relations with his father and mother. The warm affection with which he regarded them had, to the very

end, a strong infusion of a genuine Roman *pietas*. Until his removal to Cambridge in 1880, he was one of his father's household, and lived there as a son in manly subjection.

Meanwhile he was working at translations and essays and poems, cherishing the desire to lead the productive life of a man of letters, but very sensitive to possible criticism. His plan of action supposed a return to America for further independent study, and a later visit to Europe with his family, when he would take his degree at Heidelberg. "I am working very hard now," he writes to his father January 28, 1854, "and when I get home shall have abundant matter for a volume of original and translated poetry and criticism which I think may not be unworthy. However, it shall not see the light at any risk on your part. Don't say a word of it to any one. I am pretty well concluded, if I am to succeed in any line, it will be in that of literature; and if perseverance and earnest endeavor can make success, it shall be mine. I am not sanguine for pecuniary success, for that may not come with fame, if fame itself come; but it may bring something, and if you still afford me that assistance you have never denied, I hope one day to be able to give you the satisfaction of knowing that, if not repaid in kind, it is in something that grants you a full share of gratification. If I have any other ostensible business in life than literature, we shall decide upon it hereafter. Many things may happen to open something for me here or there."

He received in reply from his father the customary caution against relying on his pen for support, and acquiescing in this counsel, he returned to the book he had been planning. "I have got a volume," he writes, "as good as completed on German poetry, with translations. You will not mention it to any one. It is of a character that will meet with success if it is well done. I have done the best I could; and as far as I can judge from the effect of it on those here who have seen it, it is not badly done, — but I am not over-sanguine. I shall hope to put it into shape, and bring it out when at home; perhaps the sequence may bring out something for my advantage: — say nothing about it."

Mr. Winsor returned home in September, 1854, and a few weeks later with his father, mother, and sister moved into the new house which had been building in Blackstone Square,

where he took possession with great satisfaction of the library he had planned. Shortly after he wrote a long letter to the Baron in Heidelberg, who had been his landlord and friend, and used pretty much the whole of it in a description of the house of books in which he had now established himself. He had been cut off from reading for some time in the excitement of return and the confusion of moving, and it was with a sigh of pleasure that he returned to what was at this time his greatest delight.

On December 18, 1855, he was married to Miss Caroline T. Barker, but continued for many years to live with his wife in his father's house. From the time of his return to America in 1854 till 1868, he led the life of a man of letters, surrounded by his books, seeking and enjoying the society of those, beside his home circle, who had similar tastes and pursuits, and engaged actively in authorship. He published no book during this period, except as he was associated with the Rev. George H. Hepworth, the pastor of the Church of the Unity, in the compilation of a hymn-book for the use of the church. He himself wrote a hymn which was used at the installation of Mr. Hepworth.

But though he did not show a book as the result of his literary energy, he was a most voluminous writer on literary themes. He began shortly after he was settled at work to contribute frequently to the periodicals of the day, and his contributions to "The Crayon," which had been established by Mr. Stillman as a journal of literature and art, led soon to a regular engagement as literary editor; and later he became a regular contributor to "The Round Table," a comprehensive and deliberate critical journal which led a dignified life; he became also the Boston literary correspondent of the "New York World," when that paper was established in 1860 by Richard Grant White and others, with the commendable design of making an irreproachable daily journal in New York.

Into these periodicals, and others which I have not mentioned, he poured for fourteen years a steady stream of criticism, comment, poetry, and fiction, — at least so much fiction as might serve for the vehicle of his thought and fancy on literary and artistic subjects. The book which he brought home from Germany, and designed as the first fruits of his literary endeavor, he did not publish intact, but he broke it

up into fragments and used the material in a variety of forms. He contributed, for instance, to "The Round Table" a serial, "The Heidelberg Brotherhood," in which a group of characters discussed, with illustrative examples, German poetry and ideas, and he printed many of his translations when he was writing criticism and studies, which included the authors of the originals. The indefatigable course of reading which he had pursued at Cambridge, Paris, and Heidelberg, found an outlet in his voluminous note-books at the time, and afterward in these years of desultory literary activity.

He had, moreover, one *magnum opus* which he kept by him, and returned to again and again after his wanderings, and that was his "Garriek and his Contemporaries," as he now named the work begun in his college days. His early taste for the stage, and his steady interest in the eighteenth-century drama, made this undertaking a congenial one; and I think a man of Mr. Winsor's large capacity for work and sincere respect for great undertakings recognized the demand made upon him by his nature, and in the midst of his apparently fragmentary life held to this ideal of producing a monumental book. A memorandum of his own makes it clear that from 1850, when he first conceived it, until September, 1864, when he completed a first draft, which occupies ten folio manuscript volumes, he never lost sight of his plan; and that from February, 1860, when he began the arrangement of his mass of notes, until the close of 1864, he made it his chief concern. It is most probable that he would have persisted in this exploit and made a definite entrance into the field of literary history, which was all these years his favorite study, with his "Garriek and his Contemporaries," which would have been a storehouse of information about Garriek, the stage, the manners of the time, and English literary society of the Johnsonian period, had not his faculties been suddenly concentrated on another work which was to be thenceforth his daily employment, and for the performance of which he had been unwittingly qualifying himself.¹

The association which he had naturally formed with men of letters in Boston led to an appointment in 1866 on the Board

¹ It is possible that the appearance of Fitzgerald's *Life of Garriek*, in 1868, had something to do in discouraging Winsor from making an effort to publish his own work in the midst of his now exacting occupation.

of Trustees of the Boston Public Library. The next year he wrote a report, which Judge Chamberlain has properly designated as a "masterly, indeed, as an unprecedented, presentation of all conceivable questions relating to the public library and its constituents."¹ The report instantly attracted the attention of his fellow-trustees and of the interested public. In 1868 Mr. Jewett, the superintendent, suddenly died; the second officer, Mr. Jillson, was dying of consumption. Prompt action was necessary, and the trustees turned to their young associate — Mr. Winsor, I think, was the youngest man on the board at the time — and asked him to take charge of the library until a suitable, permanent superintendent could be found. In a few weeks he had so demonstrated his capability that he was confirmed in office. "And thus," says Mr. Winsor, in a brief sketch of his life for his college class, written in 1883, "I became a librarian. If the position of that library be considered a high level, it was by much the same process as in the New England seaboard towns, in old times, a young man sometimes attained the command of a ship without an apprenticeship before the mast, by 'crawling in through the cabin windows,' that I got so conspicuous a place in the librarian's calling."

The growth of the librarian's profession has been so rapid and extensive that Mr. Winsor himself, writing fifteen years after his entrance to it, was perhaps a trifle oblivious of the fact that there was at the earlier date scarcely such a thing as a recognized profession. A few men, like Dr. Cogswell and Mr. Jewett and Mr. Poole, had made independent careers for themselves, but the systematic work which these men had accomplished was pioneer work. It is hardly too much to say that the librarian's profession in this country, especially as regards great public libraries, became recognized after Mr. Winsor entered it, and that he was himself the leader in the ranks.

In the sketch from which I have just quoted Mr. Winsor says simply: "Up to 1868, I was occupied in general studies, writing a good deal, printing but a small part of it in periodicals — an altogether aimless occupation it might have seemed, but it well fitted me for the occupation which in a fortuitous

¹ See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., November, 1897, for an interesting analysis of the report by Judge Chamberlain.

way was forced upon me in that year." There is no doubt that the familiarity which he had acquired with a great many books in a wide range of humane literature made him at once a sympathetic librarian; it would not be so easy to discover in his pursuits the practice which prophesied his ability as a great administrator. That he had the collector's and classifier's faculty might appear from a scrutiny of his note-books; but he shunned business and seemed to be wholly a man of the library. I am inclined to think that the source of this power which he manifested was to be found in a certain courageous independence and directness of mind, illustrated by his sturdy pursuit of his own ideal as a student, regardless of authority, for this never degenerated into idle playing with books; in the faculty of concentration which he possessed in a remarkable degree, and in the combination of great industry with swift judgment. Moreover, though Mr. Jewett had developed great system in his administration, the whole material of a public library was fresh and plastic, and the relation of the library to the public yet waited the formula of some one who stood in an independent relation to the subject.

The conditions therefore were favorable; and Mr. Winsor, bringing to his task ardor, sympathy, freshness and independence of view, together with a maturity of mind bred of long conversance with books, and a well-harvested intellectual force, struck out at once boldly and yet not rashly. His report of the Examining Committee demonstrated how well he had made himself acquainted with the Library from the outside; his management now showed how well he could translate his theories and speculative judgments into practical working.

He remained at this post from February, 1868, to September, 1877. He has told the story of his career there in a modest manner in a chapter which he was forced into writing on "Libraries in Boston" in the fourth volume of "The Memorial History of Boston," and more at length in the tenth annual report which he submitted to the trustees in 1877, unaware when he wrote it that it was to be his final report, and valuable as a summary of his administration. His eminence in the profession at the close of this service is seen in the fact that when the American Library Association was formed at Phila-

delphia in 1876 he was chosen President, an office which he held until 1885; and again in 1897, that he might represent the association at the international meeting in England.

Mr. Winsor's function as a librarian both in Boston and Cambridge has been so fully set forth by Judge Chamberlain, Mr. Lane, Mr. Whitney, and others, who are especially conversant with his contributions to the profession,¹ that I concern myself more particularly with those pursuits which he carried on during his librarianship, and which grew out of his vocation, as well as out of the habits of mind and tastes formed during the previous years of industrious devotion to books.

As a part of his administration of the library, he turned to bibliographical details. He had the faculty of getting much work out of others, but it was partly because he did such a prodigious amount himself. In 1873 the library issued "A Catalogue of Books belonging to the Lower Hall of the Central Department in the Classes of History, Biography, and Travel, including the Histories of Literature, Art, Sects, etc., Politics, Geography, Voyages, Sketches, and Manners and Customs, together with Notes for Readers under subject-references." It was a double-columned volume of three hundred pages, crowded with notes, which Mr. Winsor wrote himself with very little assistance, a labor that took his spare time for a year. This was a pioneer movement, and one of the chief British librarians, writing of the catalogue, said: "I have shown it to some of the profession here, and they are as much astonished at the idea as at the execution of it. I do not think there there will be many imitators. The labor of such a work must be enormous, and certainly beyond our resources and methods." But the example once set, and the usefulness of the notes demonstrated, the plan was extensively copied, so that now such annotated catalogues on large and small scale are the rule rather than the exception in our libraries.

The accession of the Barton collection again gave zest to

¹ See especially Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., November, 1897; The Athenæum, London, November 6, 1897; The Harvard Graduates Magazine, December, 1897; The Library Journal, January, 1898; The Harvard Monthly, January, 1898; The American Historical Review, January, 1898; The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1898; The Nation, November 25, 1897; the American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, April 27, 1898, and The Library, London, January, 1898.

his early Shakespearian pursuits, and was no doubt the immediate occasion of his publication of a large quarto volume, the "Bibliography of the Original Quartos and Folios of Shakespeare," with many facsimiles in heliotype, a costly work, of which only about a hundred copies got into the subscribers' hands, the rest of the edition being burned in the great Boston fire.

There is little doubt that the fervor of the centennial period would have embraced Winsor under any conditions; his early researches in town history and his boyish taste for American history give evidence of a native interest; but his position at the Public Library at once created a potent concern which took shape in a practical form. He set about making the library a storehouse of literature connected with the rise of the nation. He garnered ephemeral publications, made scrap-books out of the more evanescent material, invited authors of writings upon the centennial period to deposit their manuscripts in the library, and availed himself of the current enthusiasm not only to add largely to the treasures of the library, but to bring all manner of literature bearing upon the subject of American history to the immediate attention of the public. For it was a cardinal principle with him, enforced from the outset of his connection with the library, that the treasures it contained should be fully accessible to readers, and that every effort should be made to attract readers to the library.

It was while he was in the midst of these labors that Mr. Sibley, the librarian of Harvard College, resigned, becoming thereafter till his death in 1885 Librarian Emeritus, and the vacant place was offered to Mr. Winsor. He considered carefully the offer, but his heart was in his Boston work; he saw the great future open to the Public Library, and he elected to remain at his post. He was single-minded in this, but with his generous nature he was keenly sensitive to any act of meanness; he had come once or twice into collision with members of the city government when he was administering the library, and he had a profound distrust of municipal politics as he saw it in operation. Accordingly, when he discovered, as he thought, an underhand opposition to him in the city government, he reconsidered his action, resigned his position, and accepted the librarianship at Harvard.

This transfer of activity, which took place in 1877, brought

him into most congenial relations. He used to remark on the great contrast between his early and late connection with Harvard. As a student he was unhappy, he was miserable; when he returned as an officer he was more happily placed than ever in his life, and his content knew no abatement. He found himself in a company of scholars, under the government of men whom he could count on unfailingly, so long as he was faithful in office. With his energy, and with the experience bought by a decade of zealous service in his profession, he at once put into practice the few simple principles which lay at the basis of his conception of a library. His predecessor had laid emphasis on the accumulation and preservation of books. Winsor, without sacrificing this point, laid emphasis on the use of them, and not only made the library free to officers and students, but enlarged its constituency, recognizing students far outside of Cambridge as guests of the University in this particular. In his administration he applied well the principles he held firmly in Boston. He added with care to his assistants, he familiarized himself with details, he did a very large amount of detailed work himself; but he trusted his associates generously, and refrained from petty interference.

It is not unlikely that if he had remained at the Public Library, he would have developed the line of historical work which now began to occupy so much of his attention, but he would have been in danger of an ignorant suspicion of negligence of duty. It is hard for even a well-trained mind to hold the belief that one man could be at once an efficient administrator of a great library and so close a student, so learned a contributor to research, as Winsor proved himself to be. At Harvard he would be judged at any rate by his peers, and it is quite certain that in permitting himself to be drawn into large enterprises of an historical nature, Winsor was feeling the impulse given to his mind by the important change which he made, when he came to the Harvard Library in 1877. He did not, however, take up his residence in Cambridge till 1880.

He was made a member of this Society June 14, 1877, and from that time his active interest both in the Society itself and in the historical pursuits which it encouraged, steadily grew. He became Corresponding Secretary in 1881, and second Vice-

President in 1894.¹ In 1879 he took up again in another form the kind of work he had done so effectively in general literature for the catalogue of the Public Library, and issued what he designed as the first of a series, "The Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution."

Indeed, from this time till his death, his career is marked by a series of important publications. Setting aside his bibliographical publications in connection with the University Library, and disregarding his notable occasional addresses, his work is represented by two massive co-operative undertakings, and by one great series of independent studies. In January, 1880, he was invited to edit a comprehensive History of Boston on a large scale and upon a plan which was largely his own device. Nothing quite like the "Memorial History of Boston" had before been attempted, and it was followed by a number of more or less successful imitations. Winsor's executive ability was clearly shown in this enterprise. He classified the work, assigned the parts to a large number of special writers, and transacted promptly and thoroughly the editorial business of the venture. But his labor was not confined to this. Besides contributing to the text, he brought to bear his wide reading and research in a great number of notes to the articles written by others, and he manipulated the whole material so as to produce a harmonious and homogeneous work. In his own brief sketch of his life to which I have referred, he summarizes his task thus: "I secured seventy writers, endeavored to unify their contributions, and aimed to complete the publication within two years. It was completely finished in twenty-three months." The work as it stands comprises a total of 2577 quarto pages, with a large number of maps, portraits, facsimiles, and other illustrations.

¹ The list of historical and cognate societies into which Mr. Winsor was elected includes the Minnesota Historical Society, the Royal Geographical Society of London, Old Colony Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Virginia Historical Society, Rhode Island Historical Society, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Western Reserve Historical Society, Essex Institute, Maryland Historical Society, Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Georgia Historical Society, American Philosophical Society, American Antiquarian Society, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Bunker Hill Monument Association, New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Connecticut Historical Society, Royal Society of Canada, and many others. He was Honorary Member of ΦΒΚ, Harvard University, President of the American Historical Association, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Michigan in 1887, and from Williams College in 1893.

The success of this venture not only encouraged the publishers, but led Mr. Winsor to see the possibility of applying the same method to the far more comprehensive field of the continent, and he drew up a scheme for "A Narrative and Critical History of America." "The main purpose of the book," he wrote, not long after the scheme was set afoot, "was to set forth a bibliographical and critical record of all the sources of the history of the American continent down to the middle of the present century, and writers in this country and in Europe were to be secured whose studies had lain in the particular fields of their several chapters." It was evident from the start that Winsor laid emphasis upon the critical side of the work; that was indeed the great reason for the enterprise, and it was in this field that his position and his own acquirements rendered him peculiarly apt as editor. The combination indeed was a most ingenious one, for it enabled him to present monographs that were not isolated, to appeal to the only buying class that could be relied on, that of the general reading public, and yet to make the work serve its main object, that of aiding the close student.

Mr. Winsor showed himself in this task a masterly editor. He was more than once called upon to edit, almost to the point of re-writing, the narrative, and he enriched the bibliographies prepared by others from the almost inexhaustible stores to which he had access, besides in many instances constructing the whole *apparatus criticus*. He showed great skill in the matter of illustration, following a clearly defined policy in making the engravings serve as documentary evidence, but his specific contribution in this respect was in the abundance and importance of his maps and plans.

He early perceived the great assistance rendered by cartography to history. His attention had been drawn to the subject more particularly by his work during the centennial period, and when engaged on "The Memorial History of Boston"; but the interest in map drawing was one of the very earliest which he displayed. He made maps of Duxbury when a school-boy. He both collected and made maps when travelling in this country, and afterward when a student in Europe. Now, when superintending the history of a new continent, where every successive discovery was registered by a map, and when familiarizing himself with the University library, singularly

rich, for a library of its size and age, in maps and charts, he rapidly became an expert in the science. I am not sure that any single feature of Winsor's career marks so well his extraordinary power of marshalling his forces at need, and employing them steadily in one great direction. From the apparently aimless, desultory life of a reader and collector of books, he stepped rapidly into the front rank of professional librarians. From the position of an historical compiler and bibliographer, having need of maps, he came in a very few years to be the leading cartographer in the United States.

Indeed, this science of cartography, into which, with all his load of daily work, he threw himself so confidently, gave the leading impulse to what was the crowning work of his life, the four volumes in which he traced the development of geographical knowledge of North America, from the first voyage of Columbus to the movement which defined the trans-Mississippi region and the Pacific coast. Here were history and geography commingled, as they had been in actual fact, with geographical evolution the backbone of the structure. No one who has had the pleasure of hearing Winsor, before a blackboard, trace the successive steps in geographical discovery, making the outline of the country gradually emerge from a series of broken lines of march, could fail to see what a living reality his imagination had made out of the disconnected narratives of voyagers and explorers. In all this work he showed the same independent, first-hand order of mind which had characterized him from boyhood. He listened attentively to all that men, books, and charts had to tell him, but the results which he set down were his own.

The wonder never ceased how Winsor could carry on all the research required for the publication of his learned works and yet be the admirable executive officer he was. He made the library the working centre of the University, and his own room there was the resort of officers and visitors. He was ready also to put his learning at the service of students in an informal order. President Eliot has referred to the part which he took in direct teaching. The whole incident was characteristic of Winsor. He invited students to form a class, and then he opened the door to some older men and to some young women, not as formal students but as his own guests. He relied on their interest in his subject, and made them fellow-

students with himself. His own success in what may be called private study of a college course led him to undervalue the rules and sanctions of the academic life, and he set slight store by examinations, as he was indifferent to the degree which stood as the end of examinations. When the time came for his class to be examined, Winsor was in the library attending to his own special work. He was sent for as a necessary part of the proceeding. At first he refused attendance, but on being urged he relented and got his class out of the room, where they were awaiting him, into the corridor. They stood in a row, and their teacher called on the first one to mention what part of the course had most interested him. That question was answered, and he proceeded to put it to the next, and the next, and so down the row. Each student was prepared, and each accordingly was marked A by the examiner. The mathematician who computes rank protested against such a result, but Winsor was inexorable, and left the authorities to devise their own way for reckoning the contribution made to the rank of each.

The course which he had undertaken to give was in the field of cartography as exegetical of history, which had now become his main pursuit. Not only his publications, but his correspondence, had marked him out as an expert, and his services were more than once called for by the United States government, notably in the Bering Sea dispute, and from time to time during 1896, when he was repeatedly summoned by the commissioners appointed to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. The report written by Mr. Winsor bears the title, "Report on the Maps of the Orinoco-Essequibo Region."

He had earlier served the State as an expert in bibliographical matters, for he was appointed by Governor Robinson of Massachusetts in 1884, one of five commissioners to investigate the condition of the records, files, papers and documents in the State Department, and served in this capacity till his death. He edited the first report made by the commissioners to the legislature, dated January 31, 1885.

The occasional journeys which Mr. Winsor made to Europe, one of them being of a year's length when he resided chiefly in England and Italy, brought him into personal relations with

many scholars and men of letters; his reputation and his achievements gave a solid ground for this association, and the letters which he wrote to the "New York Nation" during his sabbatical year give an agreeable impression of the visits which he made to great libraries and collections; but he had a growing disinclination to travel, and changes in his own intimate life, the death of his father and still more the death of his only daughter, instead of making him restless, confirmed his disposition to stay at home. He was an immediate neighbor of Mr. Charles Deane, building his house indeed on land which Mr. Deane sold him out of his estate, and during the lifetime of the older scholar the two were in daily converse. When Mr. Parkman died, Mr. Winsor gave, by request an address at the commemoration in Sanders Theatre. He was constant as an attendant at the meetings of the Historical Society, and presided with great effect over the meetings of the Thursday Evening Club, his office calling for much more than the introduction of speakers, since it was left to him to arrange for speakers and often he was compelled at the last moment to fill gaps in the list. Many a time he went to Boston, uncertain if one of the three speakers he had engaged could keep his appointment, and prepared for the emergency by a portfolio under his arm, or a well-ordered speech in his head.

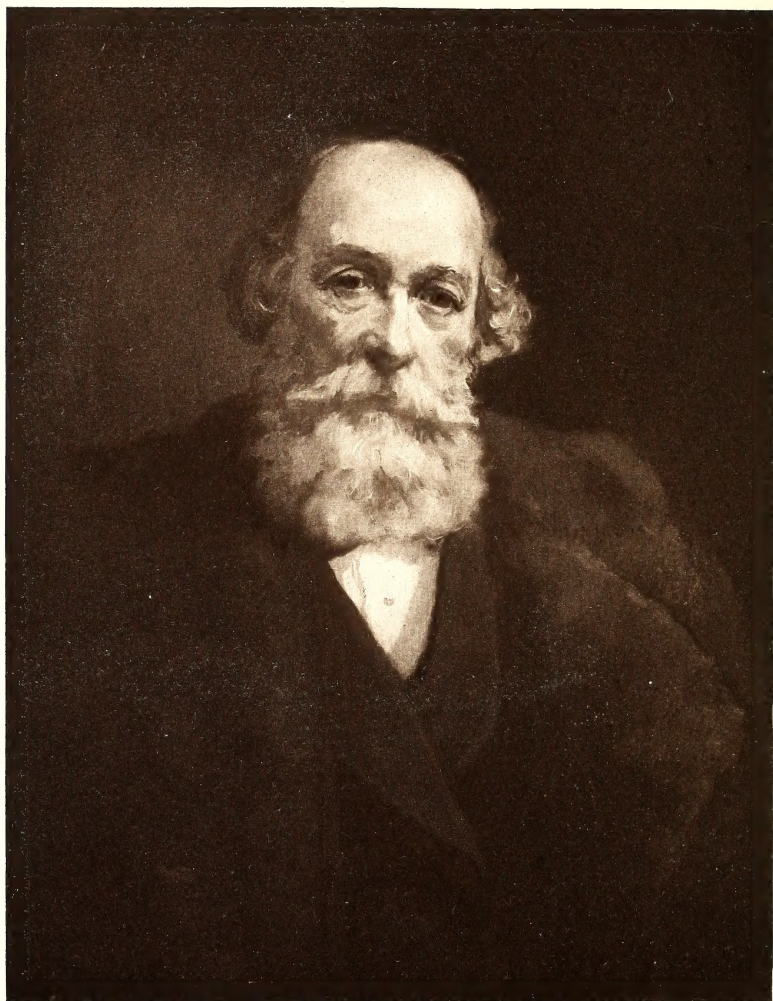
The readiness with which he met emergencies of this sort was of a piece with the quickness of his mind in all his occupations, and its alertness at will. He had a most capacious and serviceable memory; it was a pleasure to see it respond to a sudden demand. Some question would be flung out, calling for the straightening out of some tangle. Winsor would sit brooding a moment, unconsciously tap his forehead, and then, at first threading his way cautiously, would move forward at a steadily bolder pace, as the facts marshalled themselves in his mind, and end by clearing the whole subject of obscurities.

In the congenial life which he led in Cambridge and Boston, showing great and unpretentious hospitality in his own house, and belonging to two or three social and literary clubs—he had no interest in institutional club life—he found relaxation and abundant occupation for such hours as were not given to professional work. His play was intellectual. He cared nothing for music and in his mature life was indifferent to the

theatre, but he loved the touch and go of witty intercourse, and more than once entertained himself with contributions to the gayety of his neighbors. He wrote a skit for the mystification of a club to which he belonged in Cambridge, and elaborated it afterward in a saucy publication entitled "Was Shakespeare Shapleigh?" and he amused the Thursday Evening Club once, after it had been regaled by a serious disclosure of a cryptogramic Shakespeare, with a clever parody in which he demonstrated, by similar evidence drawn from a literal analysis of a few lines of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, that the authorship of the poem by Edward Everett Hale was ingeniously imbedded in the verse.

The versifier's art, which had engrossed a good deal of his attention in his student days, became a pastime with him in his later days, and especially he used it in the playful exhibition of his friendly nature. There was a child, the daughter of a friend and neighbor, who had the happy fortune to share his birthday, and year by year, as the anniversary came round, he never failed to send her some little gift, always tied in the love knot of a sonnet or other verse, now serious, now jocose. Those who saw Winsor on this side, knowing his reserve, his undemonstrative but never cold nature, his immovable fidelity to his friends, to whom he rendered great services as if they were the merest trifles, will always unconsciously find that sunny side of him turned toward them, however heartily they may join the world in praising the librarian and scholar.

He died at his home in Cambridge, October 22, 1897.



George S Hale

MEMOIR
OF
GEORGE S. HALE, A.M.

BY ARTHUR B. ELLIS.

IN the earlier years of the nineteenth century the town of Keene occupied much the same position, socially and commercially, in the State of New Hampshire that Northampton held in Massachusetts. Its isolated position fostered a natural growth and sturdy self-reliance. Any one who remembers Keene in the old days and at the same time is at all familiar with the story of Northampton (that beautiful town in the Connecticut valley, less than fifty miles distant from its northern neighbor), as told by Mrs. Lesley in her "Recollections of my Mother," will see the point of comparison. Sixty years ago no railroad connected the New Hampshire town with the New England sea-coast. In a school-boy letter from George S. Hale to his father, dated Exeter, New Hampshire, Thursday evening, October 14, 1839, he writes: "Speaking of going home . . . there is a railroad progressing from here to Haverhill by which when opened you can go to Boston by railroad, and then to Nashua from Boston, thence to Keene. I don't know that it will be finished so soon that I can go home that way; if not, I can go to Haverhill by stage, thence to Boston, etc., by railroad." An article on Keene, by Mr. Francis S. Fiske, an old friend of Mr. Hale, in the "New England Magazine" for October, 1897, contains a reference to the competition which finally (in 1848) connected the place by rail, doubly, with distant parts.

With this town of southwestern New Hampshire were identified people who followed the higher callings of life, in many instances attaining eminence. As an instance of intellectual alertness, Mr. Fiske, in the article referred to, says: "'Sartor Resartus' was read and commented on [in Keene] before it

was generally known in England, and before the letters of Emerson had brought it into notice here."

In this beautiful town of Keene, "in the valley of the Ashuelot," George Silsbee Hale was born, September 24, 1825. His second name, "Silsbee," was in honor of Nathaniel Silsbee, of Salem, Massachusetts, who was a contemporary of his father in Congress. George was the third and youngest child of Salma and Sarah Kellogg (King) Hale. The father of George Hale was a man of fine character and attainment. He served in Congress as a representative from New Hampshire. As an author he is specially known by a History of the United States. This work, though now superseded, for a long time met with great success. It was often published, editions appearing not only in this country but also abroad, — in London, in 1826, 1827, 1836, and 1848; in Aberdeen in 1848.

"Descendants of Thomas Hale," a large and admirable work compiled by Hon. Robert Safford Hale, an eminent representative of the ancestral stock, contains a sketch of Hon. Salma Hale, which was written by George S. Hale. This account shows that Mr. Salma Hale "took an early and active interest in promoting temperance, education, and the abolition of slavery, and in the Unitarian movement. While in Congress he opposed the Missouri Compromise, and lived to see the political and religious theories and reforms which he advocated when they were unpopular, accepted and powerful in the nation."

In an account of Sarah King Hale, dated Boston, May, 1896, written by one of the family for the "Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union," bound with a portrait of Mrs. Hale and a copy of her address "To the Women of New Hampshire," on behalf of Mount Vernon, some mention of her birth, ancestry, and great personal attraction is given. "Mrs. Hale was born in Boston, Massachusetts, August 31, 1798; the daughter of Seth and Susannah King. Her grand-uncle, Captain Seth King, was a captain in the old French War, assisted in the capture of Havana under Duke of Albemarle and Admiral Pocock, in 1762, and died in New York in that year. His sword is in the possession of her son.

"Miss King at an early age lost her parents, and came under the care of Miss Catharine Fiske, who for many years was the head of a school for girls in Keene, of the highest reputa-

tion. Hon. Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, was a pupil of Miss King."

Speaking of her home after she married Mr. Salma Hale, it is further said: "Their home at Keene was long the seat of intellectual culture and cordial hospitality, so that when the [Mount Vernon] Association was founded she seemed a fitting choice for its first representative in the State, and earnestly engaged in the work."

The mother of George Hale was a beautiful representative of New England womanhood. She had rare personal attractions. So widespread was the graceful spell which she wove that the county gentry, tradition says, rode long distances to Keene to see the charming lady. Late in life, even, she did not lose a vivacity of temperament. "Dancing on the green," that picturesque form of country amusement (which, as many remember, not so long ago was part of the Class-Day celebration at Harvard College), was continued by Mrs. Hale, outside the house in Keene, down to a period of her life when it was not usual in that part of the world to indulge in such form of entertainment.

At the same time the mother of George Hale was a gentlewoman, whose ideas of Christian nurture seemed to be in keeping with the sober standards of the day. In a little note addressed to "Master George S. Hale," who is at school in Walpole, New Hampshire, she writes: "I will copy for you these lines, which you may commit to memory, and repeat to yourself every morning.

"Oh! dear mamma, I wish I was a King,
How I should like to sit upon a throne.
It would be such a wondrous clever thing
To rule and have a city of my own.
That you may do, my boy, and shed no blood,
Nor quarrel with your neighbour for the thing.
Rule your own self, govern your life, be good ;
That is your Kingdom, then yourself a King."

The name of "Sarah King Hale, Vice-Regent for New Hampshire," is signed to a printed "Appeal" (before mentioned), dated Keene, November 16, 1858, which was issued "To the Women of New Hampshire," on behalf of the movement for the preservation of Mount Vernon.

With these antecedents, it is not strange that in later life

the son George should have shown a peculiar and characteristic prominence in philanthropic work. His early education was in New Hampshire. At the age of nine he was taught at Walpole, about twelve miles north of Keene, on the Connecticut River; then in Concord, and, finally, entered Phillips Exeter Academy, September 13, 1839, when about fourteen years of age. Phillips Exeter at that time, as later, bore a high reputation as a preparatory institution for college.

As a boy, one of his friends says, he had tremendous struggles with bursts of passion. His great strength finally secured the mastery. This circumstance is referred to simply as showing that the quiet and gentle firmness which characterized his mature life was all the more noble as the result of a severe self-discipline.

He entered Harvard at less than fifteen years of age. The college course was marked with high honor. He belonged to what may be called a literary set of young men, who aspired to something beyond mere social prestige, though by no means scorning the privileges of simple good-fellowship. The elaborate report of "The Class of 1844," prepared by Edward Wheelwright, shows that George S. Hale took a prominent place in college, both in scholarship and socially. He stood among "the first eight of the Phi Beta Kappa in 1842," and graduated with high rank.

In a letter to his father while an undergraduate, he gives an account of the famous Cap and Town affair, between Boston teamsters and Harvard students. "I presume you have seen 'ere this occasional notices of difficulties arising from our wearing 'Oxford Caps.' There has been a good deal of excitement about it, and I have not the least doubt that had there been a contest between us and the 'rowdies,' some one or more than one would have been killed. I have hitherto escaped any injury. I had the pleasure on Saturday of having a mob of some two hundred tagging at my heels, hooting, hissing, etc., but no one touched me. Probably you will get as good an idea of the whole affair from the newspapers as I can give you. I will only add, what I have not seen noticed there yet, that some diabolical wretch, probably a 'rowdy,' set fire to Massachusetts Hall last night Monday, and that combustibles were discovered ready disposed for ignition in Hollis H. The truckmen, etc., have threatened to come out here and attack

us ; possibly they may yet, and if they do, in all probability some blood will be shed."

Among his correspondents of early life are included Francis Parkman, George S. Emerson, and William Barstow. Mr. Hale was specially intimate through life with Francis Parkman, Benjamin Apthorp Gould, Francis E. Parker, Henry W. Torrey, Josiah Parsons Cooke, Francis S. Fiske, and General Edward A. Wild. Between Mr. Fiske and Mr. Hale a rare bond of friendship existed, with the milestones frequently marked by charming little notes and greetings in prose and verse. This friendship began in earliest childhood at Keene.

After graduation, Mr. Hale seems to have been in an unsettled frame of mind as to the calling which he should follow. Standing on the threshold of active life, he writes thus to George S. Emerson, in a letter dated Keene, November 4, 1844: "I am still 'in wandering mazes lost'; the pulpit now finds favor in my eyes, and now the bar. Heaven grant I may see my way clear soon, for this indecisive state is an excessively disagreeable one. Sometimes I think nothing can be more productive of true happiness than to engage earnestly and devotedly in laboring for the good of mankind, to offer up oneself a whole burnt offering, as Channing says, to the human race, but there is a question whether after all the ministry offers the best opportunity for this."

In another letter to Emerson, dated Keene, February 25, 1845, replying to one from Emerson, offering him encouragement to enter the ministry, he discusses the subject at great length, as one intimate friend does with another, egotistically, as he is aware; at the close asking Emerson in "replies" "if possible [to] be more egotistical." In this letter occur these prophetic words: "One good determination, however, I have reached and mean to rest upon, whatever I may be, to have for my first object the good of those around me — of all mankind. My meditations confirm me in this, though leaving me uncertain in everything else."

Mr. Hale stayed in Keene for one year after graduation, then returned to Cambridge and studied one year at the Law School. His first employment of a definite kind in active life seems to have been that of a school teacher. He accepted a position in a private establishment for young ladies, at Richmond, Virginia.

At this time and later, weakness of the eyes caused much annoyance. The preceptress of this school was Mrs. A. M. Mead. Her son, Edward C. Mead, of Keswick, Albemarle County, Virginia, who as a boy and later knew Mr. Hale, in a letter to Mrs. Hale refers to this period. He speaks in unqualified terms of the assistance which Mr. Hale rendered to his mother in the management of the school. He refers to "the wonderful success which his genius gave it." With Mrs. Mead or Mrs. Chalmers (her later married name) Mr. Hale kept up a life-long and intimate correspondence, fragments of which remain. This new experience, brief as it was, — lasting about eighteen months, — marks a certain epoch, giving the young man a glimpse outside of puritan New England and thus enlarging his views.

At the close of the service as school teacher at Richmond, Mr. Hale travelled extensively in Europe. In one part of his journeyings, a friend and he had exciting experiences, "thrilling adventures," "hair-breadth escapes." Italy was struggling with Austria at the time, 1848-49. During the latter year Mr. Hale and his classmate, Mr., afterwards the distinguished General, Edward A. Wild, of Brookline, as fellow travellers, "were taken (so it is recorded in Mr. Wheelwright's report of the Class of 1844) alternately for Austrian and Italian spies, were once arrested as deserters, and at another time as robbers." Interesting accounts of travels appeared at this time from his pen in two newspapers. One of these newspapers was the "New York Tribune," and the name of the other was the "—— Republican," perhaps the "Boston Republican," but not, as might be supposed, the "Springfield Republican."

In spite of the opinion of a German doctor, who told him that he would never be able to use his eyes, that he would be blind before he was twenty-five, or words to that effect, soon after this interview he found relief. He writes from "Grafrath, October 4, 1849," as follows: "I wrote you some days since, and in a few days you will, I am sure, be made happy by the joyous news I then gave you of the recovery of my eyes, and I am equally so to be able to confirm it anew." The "recovery" was by no means complete. Trouble with his eyes continued through life.

On arriving home, Mr. Hale began the practice of law in Boston. He thus became one of that distinguished company

from different parts of New England who contributed so much to the intellectual prestige which characterized the Boston of half a century ago, including, among her adopted sons, Longfellow, Webster, Jeremiah Mason, Peleg Chandler, Andrew Preston Peabody, Thomas Starr King, and Francis E. Parker. In earlier years Mr. Hale had an office at No. 4 Court Street, which became the headquarters of many prominent men. The same building and its occupants formed the material for some remarks by him before the Bostonian Society many years after (namely, in 1890).

Now began a busy life of public and private service, covering nearly half a century. As one looks over the records at hand, not scant, yet too meagre to do full justice to all the disinterested offices which he rendered, it is hard to know just where to lay the emphasis.

Mr. Hale held but few offices in public life, though he gave so much time to work which promoted the commonweal. In 1857, 1863, and 1864 he served in the Common Council of the City of Boston, in 1863 and 1864 as its President. He was an Overseer of the Poor for the City of Boston six years, 1865-71. In 1876 he was appointed on "A Commission . . . to consider the treatment of the poor" of Boston, and the exhaustive report, which received wide notice (being referred to authoritatively in England, for example), is recognized as substantially the work of Mr. Hale.

Although Mr. Hale did not come prominently before the public in political office, one service deserves mention, as showing that he held the confidence and esteem which are necessary for the honorable fulfilment of high position. At the request of Governor Andrew, Mr. Hale visited Washington in order to secure for the colored troops what they would have got in pay if they had been "white troops." With this object in view, he called upon President Lincoln and others and made his appeal. The errand bore fruit, although the fulfilment of its purpose was postponed. Part of one of the inscriptions on the monument to Colonel Shaw and his fellow-soldiers says that the men in the ranks "served without pay for eighteen months till given that of white troops." Many years after the war, when the presentation of this memorial took place, the incident of his mission seems to have been brought anew to the mind of Mr. Hale. He told the story,

for the first time, to one who, though familiar with his public services, was not aware of this event.

Like so many Massachusetts men, George S. Hale showed his political independence at a critical time. He cut loose from the old moorings and put out into the open waters; yet, in the words of Seneca, applied by Lowell to the famous leader of a great party, Mr. Hale in his course may be said to have kept his rudder true. As "one of the vice-presidents of the Committee of One Hundred," he gave his support to the independent movement in politics of 1884 in support of Grover Cleveland.

As a supporter of woman suffrage, Mr. Hale persevered in holding the argument to high ideals. Speaking of the position which George S. Hale took on this question, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote as follows in 1882: "There is no doubt that it defeated a man of conspicuous ability who advocated it; a lawyer of such high standing at the Suffolk bar that he would unquestionably, if elected, have been the highest legal authority in the [Massachusetts] House of Representatives. It was the boast of those who voted down George S. Hale, in the nominating convention of his district, that he was defeated because of his woman suffrage opinions."

As a lawyer, Mr. Hale had a prominent position. He represented the American, later the Western Union, Telegraph Company, for twenty-five years or more, and held appointments as "Clerk and Solicitor of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Corporation from February, 1857, to December 1, 1867, and Solicitor of the Boston and Albany Railroad Company from December 1, 1867, to 1871." For ten years longer, namely, until 1880-81, he served as counsel for the Boston and Albany Railroad.

One who knew Mr. Hale professionally better than any one else says that he was "acute" as a lawyer. Mr. Hale was what is known as "a case lawyer." He saw one point and clung to it, preferring to make up his mind after a careful study of the cases in order to be sure of his ground. He was seldom wrong on an opinion which he had gained by patient investigation. His judgment, in other words, was formed slowly, as a rule, but when once shaped, it was almost certain to be right. No will which Mr. Hale made has ever been broken. His accurateness was once vouched for by Mr. William G.

Russell, an eminent Boston lawyer. On one occasion, "a certain railroad contract was read to him, in the course of business. 'George Hale wrote that,' said Mr. Russell. 'Yes,' was the reply; 'but how did you know it?' 'Because there is not a single clause in it which can mean more than one thing.'"

His private practice was large, growing more and more of a fiduciary character. Yet, when all is told, with all his marked and undoubted legal ability and high reputation in his profession, to most of his friends it is outside the law that he is specially remembered. The poetic element seemed to characterize largely and impel a nature which was more prone to fight the hosts of darkness with "the sword of Gideon" than to engage in legal contest, however honorable.

Mr. Hale was admitted to practice in Virginia during his residence in that State. He entered the Suffolk bar by certification from Virginia, January 4, 1850. At the time of his death, Mr. Hale was "senior member of the Boston bar in active practice," Mr. Causten Browne then succeeding to the honor.

For a long time the name of George S. Hale will be remembered as belonging to one who was willing to give wise counsel and take prudent forethought for others, often with slender, if any, requital for a service rendered. The late Mr. Thomas F. Ring, one of those liberal-minded and noble representatives of the Roman Catholic fold who, like Bishop Cheverus, have done so much to help on a true Christian brotherhood, told the following story at a meeting of "The Conference of Child-Helping Societies," held in memory of Mr. Hale: "I recall that at one hearing at the State House before the Committee on Charities, when Mr. Hale had offered a bill for the separation of the poor from the criminals by giving to the Overseers of the Poor the care of the almshouses, some one taunted him as being 'the paid counsel for a lot of disturbers.' Mr. Hale quietly turned on him with the remark, 'I trust this is not the last time I shall give unpaid and willing service to the poor of Boston.'"

The influence which Mr. Hale exerted by such disinterested service as is above mentioned, no doubt, shaped the course of important public action. It revealed the man behind his words. One case is specially noteworthy. His earnestness

prevented the passage of an Act providing for sectarian support by public bounty. After the Charity Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature had reported in favor of \$10,000 for the House of the Good Shepherd, Mr. Hale made a speech "before the Finance Committee which reversed the decision of the Charity Committee." Not only was the \$10,000 not given, but his remarks, it is thought, made a deep impression on the minds of "some of the most ardent Catholics present."

As presiding officer of various organized societies, Mr. Hale delivered many able and instructive addresses. He was elected President of the American Unitarian Association eight times, serving "a longer period than any of his predecessors"; President of the Boston Children's Aid Society from October 1, 1886, to the time of his death; President of the Board of Trustees for Phillips Exeter Academy from 1885 to 1893; President of the Massachusetts Reform Club in 1895, 1896, and 1897, and President of the Union Club of Boston from 1895 to July, 1897, holding both offices to the time of his death; for more than seventeen years he was one of the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital; for a long period he was Trustee and then Vice-President of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind; he was the first President of the Conference of Child-Helping Societies, holding the office until the time of his death; and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the First Church in Boston in 1894 and 1896.

The esteem in which he was held for certain high qualifications received recognition abroad. He was a delegate (as the following testimonial shows) at Paris in 1889 at an international conference of charities.

Boston, June 26, 1889.

To DR. THULIÉ,

General Secretary of the Congress of Public Assistance, Paris, France.

SIR, — I take great pleasure in commending to you Hon. George S. Hale of this city, who proposes, as an affiliated member, to participate in the proceedings of the congress of which you are the general secretary.

Mr. Hale is a man of the highest character and of the stanchest integrity. He has made a thorough study of charities and all that relates to them, and he has practically engaged in relieving the unfortunate and

in correcting the criminal. He has the additional advantage of speaking French fluently.

I am yours very respectfully,

(Signed) OLIVER AMES,

Governor of Massachusetts.

Mr. Hale took a prominent part at this cosmopolitan gathering from twenty-six nations. In the conference he was both an essayist and a debater. Towards the close he made the following address extemporaneously, using the French language, as in all that he contributed:—

CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL D'ASSISTANCE,

Séance du Samedi, 3 Août.

M. le DR. THULIÉ, secrétaire général. Le Congrès sera clos ce soir . . . je dois vous remercier de votre bienveillance; bien des erreurs ont été commises par les organisateurs et vous avez eu l'exquise délicatesse d'avoir l'air de ne pas vous en apercevoir.

M. HALE. Mesdames, messieurs, je voudrais pouvoir m'exprimer avec toute la pureté de la langue française, pour vous dire combien nous avons été touché de vos délicates attentions à notre égard. Tous ici, vous êtes venues apporter votre expérience, votre dévouement à la solution de ces questions dont dépendent plus que la politique, l'existence des nations. (Très bien.) À vous, mes collègues français, je dirai que nous n'oublions pas, aux États Unis, que c'est à l'assistance de la France que nous devons notre existence nationale. Aussi marchons nous sur ses traces le plus que nous pouvons, mais nous sommes jeunes encore et il faut nous donner quelque temps pour atteindre nos devanciers. Dans trois ans, nous fêterons l'anniversaire de la découverte de l'Amérique par Christophe Colomb; je vous invite tous à venir à cette époque au congrès, nous découvrir de nouveau." (Bravos. Applaudissements.)

The list of historical, literary, charitable, and other organizations to which Mr. Hale belonged is unusually long. It includes, besides our own Society, the New England Historic-Generalogical, the New Hampshire Historical, and the American Historical societies; Social Science Association; American Statistical Association; Society for Psychical Research; The Colonial Society of Massachusetts; Society for Promoting Theological Education; Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society; Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America; St. Botolph Club of

Boston and Century Association of New York. Dartmouth College gave him an honorary A. M. Mr. Hale took great interest in the welfare of Phillips Exeter Academy. He was not only a Trustee for many years, but showed special attention by frequent journeys to Exeter to visit the Academy and see the pupils. The Boston Post, in an obituary notice, says that "under his guidance it [Phillips Exeter Academy] has become one of the greatest preparatory schools in the country." While it is true that Mr. Hale did much in various ways to further the interests of the institution, it held a high reputation long before the period to which the Post refers.

The numerous speeches which Mr. Hale delivered on public occasions were thorough and admirable, often embellished with classical quotations and full of sound learning. One of the most striking and characteristic addresses which he made was at a meeting less than two months before he died. It was "delivered at the annual meeting of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference," June 2, 1897, under the title of "The Future of Arbitration." This short address coming so late in his life is an unusually strong contribution to the efforts to promote peace and good-will among all men.

In the field of literature, more strictly defined, his work was limited, no doubt, by the necessities of a busy life. The specimens which he left show the same thoroughness and often poetic touch which characterized his public addresses. The list includes memoirs of Harry Hibbard, Joel Parker, Theron Metcalf, and Martin Brimmer. Without disparaging the merits of other verse which he composed, only one selection is here made. Mr. Hale wrote the following poem in honor of his classmate, Dr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould, who had just come home after completing a wonderful record as astronomer in the service of the Argentine Republic:—

Bright Argo brings a hero back,
With tales of distant worlds and fair,
Shining in skies beyond our sphere,
Yet weighed and numbered by his care.

Bright with the light of Southern stars,
He seems to wear a Southern cross;
Fit token of the honors won
Through toil and grief, and pain and loss.

The wanderer we welcome home,
From far-off lands to us unknown,
Which see with pride his name displayed
On their bright skies, thus made his own.

But not alone "The Southern Crown"
Shall cast its halo round his head;
The stars he worshipped in his youth
Their shining welcomes o'er him shed.

May their "sweet influence" give him rest;
His be the honors they confer;
And long unsaid the fated words, —
"*E vivis cessit stelliger!*"

May 6, 1885.

The memoir of Hon. Harry Hibbard, above mentioned, is much more than a biography of an individual. In its broad range the account includes sketches of leading practitioners contemporaneous with Mr. Hibbard. It was printed in the "Proceedings of the Grafton and Coös Bar Association" of New Hampshire in 1895. Portraits of both Hibbard and Hale accompany the memoir. Either singly or with others, Mr. Hale served as legal editor. His associates on the Boston Law Reporter at different times were George P. Sanger and John Codman. Volumes 16, 17, and 18 of the United States Annual Digest were edited entirely by Mr. Hale. "Use and Abuse of Medical Charities" is the title of a contribution which he sent to the American Social Science Association in Detroit (1875). For the "Memorial History of Boston," Mr. Hale wrote an elaborate article entitled "The Charities of Boston and Contributions to the Distressed of other Parts," and for the "Directory of the Charitable and Beneficent Organizations of Boston" a valuable legal supplement. Referring to "A Manual for the Overseers of the Poor in the City of Boston" (1866), Mr. Robert Treat Paine, at a meeting held in memory of Mr. Hale, by the Conference of Child-Helping Societies, December 1, 1897, says: "This manual has been the cornerstone for thorough knowledge on these subjects from 1866 to the present time."

In early days Mr. Hale appears to have added to his professional earnings by receipts from at least one lecture which he used at different places. On a fly-leaf of an essay on Aaron Burr is written: "Delivered at West Medway, Feb.

4, 1851, 10 [dollars]; at Salem, Mch. 6 [1851], 15; Billerica [1851], 10; Westfield, Jan. 18, 1854, 20; Salem, Feb. 23 [1854], 20."

The influence produced by some of the speeches of Mr. Hale was like the impression which is made by strong lay preaching. Earnest appeals on behalf of the poor and unfortunate may be so worded and delivered as to have the effect of powerful sermons. It would not be true, perhaps, to say that Mr. Hale missed his vocation in not becoming a preacher, but certainly a poetic and religious temperament combined with stores of learning and fine gifts of expression well fitted him for a ministerial career.

He was among the band of well-known citizens who organized the Associated Charities of Boston, and aided and furthered that enterprise in large degree.

The amount of pains which Mr. Hale took with the consideration of laws relating to the position and relief of the poor was simply herculean. He became a recognized leader in movements for their welfare. So established was his reputation, that he was considered the best expert witness to be called upon at an important hearing at the City Hall in Boston "on the care and management of the Public Institutions," which was held in 1894. In 1896 he took a large part in preparing a subject for legislation which, after weighty deliberation, finally (in 1897) appeared on the Statute Book of Massachusetts, in great measure word for word as originally proposed, entitled "An Act to establish separate departments of the City of Boston for the care of children, paupers, and criminals."

With all the multiform business engagements which he so well fulfilled, he did not neglect claims which even a philanthropically disposed man might easily be excused for overlooking. His tender loyalty is referred to in a letter which Dr. Edward Everett Hale read at the commemorative meeting before mentioned. The writer of the letter is described by Dr. Hale as "an early friend" of Mr. George Hale. The following is a copy of what was thus read, as appears by a printed report of the meeting:—

"Justice will probably be done to Mr. Hale's integrity, fidelity, and ability. His indefatigable industry will also be remembered, and per-

haps the marvellous courage and determination which gave him the victory over delicate health and almost useless eyes during many critical years of his youth. But I can hardly think of any one who will tell of the tenderness and loyalty which bound him to his friends and to the children of his friends, in sickness and in health, in joy and in sorrow, until death did them part.

"He was not only faithful to his personal friendships, but he assumed those of his parents. For more than forty years he had found time, in a most laborious life, to pay frequent regular visits, sometimes in distant towns, to several aged people, for the sole purpose of giving a friendly greeting to those who had known his mother. One such old lady, to whose house these pious pilgrimages were faithfully made for years, until her mental powers had quite failed, said to me, 'George Hale has been the comfort of my life.' Nothing could exceed the sympathy and personal devotion which characterized his relations with his intimate friends, whose interests were identical with his own. He not only loved and served his friends, he was ready to fight for them, if need be.

"These characteristics, together with his exquisite taste in literature, and his attitude toward the whole subject of religion, were such a vital part of his personality, that I cannot be reconciled to having them inadequately presented in any sketch of his life.

"Nearly fifty years ago, before the observance of Sunday had come to be so largely a matter of athletics as now, George Hale began the lifelong habit of spending a large part of the day of rest out of doors. He was a prodigious walker, walking always, both from a love of nature and in search of health. But it was always his custom to walk toward a more or less distant country church, and to arrive in time for the morning service, which, I will venture to say, he rarely missed, wherever he chanced to be, during his whole life. Indeed, he once told me that he often found himself more refreshed by that hour than by any other part of the day. 'I often find myself repeating the hymns or reconstructing the sermon,' he said, 'as I walk back to town in the afternoon; and so I leave my business behind me.' He was a rarely devout man, and he loved the expression of religious feeling with the ardor of a truly poetic nature.

"It was an unusual combination of qualities shown in this sagacious, successful man of affairs, and I long to have the young men of to-day feel the full inspiration of it."

Neither professional nor public cares quenched that spirit of good fellowship which made much younger people feel at home with Mr. Hale. In those forms of entertainment which are so often suggested when people are at a loss for amusement,

comprehensively called "games," Mr. Hale joined sometimes, though having little or no taste for them. On one occasion, at least, where knowledge of the Bible was essential, he showed himself to be more than a match for his competitors. It was supposed that, being a Unitarian, he would not be specially well-informed on the Scriptures, but, strange as it may have seemed to some of the company, his knowledge of the Book soon appeared as something remarkable. Mr. Hale, it has been well remarked, was a good "listener." He gave his attention sympathetically, though with a slightly amused, quizzical smile, it might be, to views which did not accord with his.

His humor was often of a quaint and classical type, sometimes especially keen and effective. A friend has said that he had a "delightful sense of humor which gave him an insight into motives, enabled him to share the burdens of others without becoming depressed by them." The same friend refers to his "rare gift of peacemaking; his expectation that those who sought his counsel would keep in mind the claims, rights, and preferences of others, even when those others were their opponents."

Another friend has referred to the frequency with which Mr. Hale was called upon to settle a literary question. Being gifted with an unusually good and well-trained memory, he could enlighten you, often, at the time. If not, he was always sure to find the right answer. His love of general literature, especially of poetry, and of literary fellowship was most marked. The poetic side of his nature was so finely wrought that, to one who knew him in younger days, it was not strange that it seemed to unfit him for the struggle of practical life. Colonel Higginson, not long after Mr. Hale died, recalled the delicacy and sensitiveness of manner of the young student. He described the modest though "resolute" way in which he entered the college chapel. Yet, as Mr. Higginson shows, it is the nature such as he describes, which sometimes, as in the case of his fellow-student, proves firm as steel.

Mr. Hale married, November 25, 1868, Ellen, a daughter of John Sever, of Kingston, Massachusetts, and widow of Rev. Theodore Tebbets. "Colonel John Sever was a leading merchant, shipbuilder, and owner, and as one of the originators of and first president of the Old Colony Railroad, was actively

engaged in its construction. He was the colonel of a Massachusetts regiment and held a very high position in Plymouth County." An "ancestor, William Sever, was for fifteen successive years prominent in the political life of Massachusetts in the most important period of its early history; a member of the Provincial Congress, and at one time president of the State Council." Commendable as this record is, the history of the Sever family does not end with past generations. The name has been well honored in later times.

Besides two own sons, Robert Sever and Richard Walden, Mr. Hale left an only step-son, John Sever Tebbets. Between Mr. Hale and his only step-child had grown up a warm and devoted attachment, as of father and son. It is interesting to note an incident which is referred to by Mr. Wheelwright in his class report already mentioned, namely, the attendance of the father and two sons, Robert S. and Richard W., together, as members of the Phi Beta Kappa, at one of the dinners of the society, June 25, 1891. The presence of the father and two sons, Robert (1891) and Richard (1892), one as graduate of the day previous and the other an "immediate member," must have been, at least, a rare occurrence.

His old friend, Rev. William Orne White, at the funeral service at the First Church in Boston, gives a beautiful picture of life's journey in its steady progress. He refers to "the rosy-cheeked lad as he goes up and down the streets of his native village, bringing gladness evermore to the parents and sister for whom he lovingly cared down to the hour of their latest breath. One might see blended in him the patient thought which marked his honored father, and the radiant welcome that beamed from the face of his gracious mother. . . . Within this 'House of our God,' which is now sheltering us, he is a strong pillar. . . . Ah, if he is all this to those who met him as a companion or as an adviser, what must he not be in his own home!"

Mr. Hale never seemed old, that is to say, with the feebleness which is associated with old age. His capacity for work and constant interest in what was going on were remarkable. He seemed fitted for longer service in the broad field of philanthropic effort to which he so early dedicated himself.

George S. Hale was one of the first to find a home for the summer at Mount Desert, before the place became a great

summer resort. It was in one of the most attractive parts of the island. He took great delight in his vacations there. Yet, with all the relaxation which the place afforded, a certain part of the day was devoted to work. Toil could not escape him to the close of his life. As a friend has said, he worked to the last day. George Hale was called away as if on high in a chariot, like Elijah of old, — “a perfect translation.”

On this beautiful shore of Mount Desert, at a place called “Schooner Head,” Mr. Hale died, July 27, 1897, in the seventy-second year of his age.

George S. Hale was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 11, 1867. He was a member at large of the Council, 1888-90. From 1882 to 1894 Mr. Hale was a frequent contributor to the Proceedings of the Society.

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